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PORTLAND YOUTH ADVOCATES' CONTACT CENTER  
PROGRAM (1970-79): AN IDIOGRAPHIC STUDY

by  
MICHAEL HOROWITZ

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
in  
URBAN STUDIES

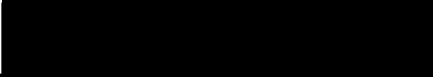
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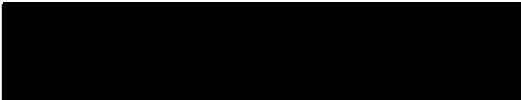
AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF Michael Horowitz for the Doctor of  
Philosophy in Urban Studies presented August 5, 1981.

Title: Portland Youth Advocates' Contact Center Program (1970-79):  
An Idiographic Study

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE DISSERTATION COMMITTEE:

  
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Carl J. Abbott, Chairperson

  
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Theodore G. Grove

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Gerald D. Guthrie

Portland Youth Advocates is a nonprofit organization in Portland, Oregon, that since 1969 has supervised nearly a dozen innovative service programs for young people. One of these programs was a counseling and referral program that evolved in August 1970 and closed in September 1979. Although it used different names at various times, it was most often known as the Contact Center.

Three of PYA's former programs are operating in 1981, having each incorporated separately since 1979. To address the problem of why the Contact Center was unable to continue as well, an ex post facto case

study of the program is undertaken. To facilitate the study, the program's history is divided into five representative time periods. Four categories of sources are then consulted to indicate the program's performance in five fixed factors during each time period. Time periods are August 1970-October 1972, October 1972-June 1975, July 1975-June 1976, July 1976-November 1977, and November 1977-September 1979. Source categories include program personnel, overseers of the program, and outside observers, as well as personal, organizational, and periodical archives. Factors comprise funding, organization, community relations, competence, and planning. For each time period, the author typically conducts a standardized in-depth interview with a representative source from each of the first three categories as well as examines selected archives from the fourth category; these interactions produce the study's data.

Findings are initially presented for each factor in each time period. They are subsequently comprehensively analyzed from the viewpoint of two factors over time (competence and organization), a collective factor over time (mediation with the external landscape: planning, community relations, and funding), and three special attitudes (counter-cultural attitudes, political attitudes, and clinical attitudes). A conclusion is then drawn regarding the Contact Center's demise.

Data is sufficiently indicative as to suggest a reply to the problem. The Contact Center appears to have been a fairly well organized program that generally provided good service. Its difficulties seemed to derive from its increasingly troubled mediation with the external landscape - government officials, foundation executives, and other private human

service agencies. Some of the disturbance the center encountered in this regard was a consequence of its acknowledged preference for clinical as opposed to political activity. But the evidence also implies that distinguishing attitudes assumed by program members may have exacerbated already tenuous relationships between the program and external entities.

Because these attitudes roughly identify the Contact Center program with what is often called "alternative human service," the work concludes with a prescriptive essay regarding the perpetuation of such service. Alternative human service is defined according to twelve characteristics that differentiate it from traditional human service. Because these characteristics determine conflicts with traditional funding sources, perpetuation of alternative human service is considered problematic. To encourage perpetuation under these circumstances, a four-step strategy is suggested: its elements comprise appreciation of power, expectation of conflict, and concentration on external mediation and research and development.

Through the submission of this strategy, the dissertation addresses a significant national movement in community health. The derivation of its proposals is facilitated, of course, by the work's detailed familiarity with the particular history of the Contact Center program.

TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

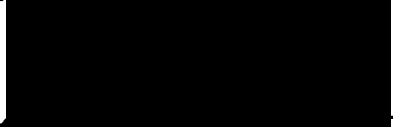
The members of the Committee approve the dissertation of  
Michael Horowitz presented August 5, 1981.

  
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Stanley E. Rauch, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

## PREFACE

This is not an ordinary dissertation. A traditional dissertation would select a hypothesis from the literature, retest it, and ally itself afterwards with a familiar school of thought.

After summarizing its subject's history and suggesting a problem, this work proceeds differently. Rather than apply a hypothesis from the literature, it creates its own. It does this by reviewing the literature of organizational perpetuation and social welfare fundraising and deriving relevant constructs from these texts. From there, it progresses towards choosing factors based on these constructs and formulating a hypothesis that comprises these factors.

Data for such a study is gleaned from periodicals, personal interviews, and organizational and private files. After it has been acquired, it is comprehensively analyzed from the perspectives of the selected factors as well as three supplemental concepts. On the basis of this analysis, a conclusion is drawn that replies to the original hypothesis about the subject.

Although such an idiograph is able to thoroughly probe the regularities and idiosyncracies of a subject, it cannot serve as a certain indicator for similar subjects; yet it can inspire creative theory regarding them. The final chapter of this work proposes such theory: the enunciation of prescriptions regarding similar subjects based on the experience of the studied subject. In this way, the particular history of the studied subject engenders informed judgments about related phenomena.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the assistance of the following persons; their help is gratefully appreciated:

Professor Virgus O. Streets, to whom this work is dedicated, for guidance in its conception.

My committee, Professors Abbott, Grove, and Guthrie, for contributions beyond expectation after Professor Streets' departure and especially to Professor Carl Abbott for spirited assumption of the chair.

The Multnomah County Commissions Board for their continued support of an annual graduate fellowship in urban affairs at Portland State University and the Urban Studies Graduate Program for investing this project with such a fellowship in September 1980.

The sixteen respondents of the study whose participation is initially cited in each chapter of the second unit.

Joe Dubay, Herman Eschen, Paul Kaufman, Howard Schechter, and Buzz Willits for permission to cite certain papers in their private files.

Other former and current members of Portland Youth Advocates for their cooperation, often on more than one occasion. Several repeatedly volunteered their time to insure the accuracy of the study; they included Scott Bailey, Jon Dickinson, Les Goldmann, Margaret Hunt, Pat McNassar, Lee Meier, and Ken Story as well as respondents Groner, Kaufman, Mainzer, Schechter, and Young.

Activists in alternative culture and youth service in the sixties



and seventies, including Penny Allen, Gina Horowitz, Steve Johnson, Paul Libby, Lynn Parkinson, Joe Uris, Joel Weinstein, and Michael Wells, and former members of the Greater Portland Council of Churches community action programs.

The following private organizations for permission to cite certain papers in their files: Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, First Congregational Church, First Unitarian Society, Harry's Mother, the Oregon Grand Lodge of the International Order of Odd Fellows, Kell, Alterman, Runstein, and Thomas, Mainstream, Oregon Capital Resources, Oregon Coalition of Alternative Human Services, Portland Campus Christian Ministry, Portland Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, Portland Youth Advocates, Tri-County Community Council, and United Way, Columbia-Willamette.

The following units of government: Clackamas County Employment and Training Agency, Metro Criminal Justice Department, Multnomah County Mental Health Division, Multnomah-Washington CETA Consortium, Multnomah County Records Center, Children's Services Division Region I Group Care Unit, the city auditor, youth service center system, and Records Management Program, and the Department of Health and Human Services' Region X Human Development Services Office.

The following periodicals: the Downtowner, the Equestrian, Oregon Magazine, Rough Rider, Valley Times, and Willamette Week; and the journal C/O: Journal of Alternative Human Service.

The staffs of the following libraries for their assistance: Lewis and Clark College, the Multnomah County Public Library, the Oregon Historical Society, Portland State University, Reed College, Seattle

Public Library, the University of California at San Diego, the medical library of the University of Oregon Health Sciences Center, and the social work library of the University of Washington.

Thanks to my typist, LaVerna Green, other colleagues at Portland State University, Frank and Lynn Beyerle, and my father, mother, and brother, for their support.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, the offices of the following organizations were located in Portland. An asterisk denotes a governmental unit.

*ATF	Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Treasury Department, U.S.
C-CAC	Church Community Action Commission, GPCC
C-CAP	Northeast Church Community Action Program, GPCC
*C-CETA	Employment and Training Agency, Clackamas County
C-YM	Charix-Youth Ministry, GPCC
CC	PYA's counseling program after August 1970. Over its nine-year history, it assumed four names: the Contact Center, the Drop-in Center, the Counseling Resource Center, and Social Services.
*CRAG	Columbia Regional Association of Governments
*CSD	Children's Services Division, Oregon; usually refers to Region I, Group Care Unit
East-CAP	East Side Church Community Action Program, GPCC
EMO	Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon
GPCC	Greater Portland Council of Churches
*HEW	Health, Education, and Welfare Department, U.S.; refers to both national office in Washington, D.C. and Region X Office in Seattle, Wash.
HIP	Health Intervention Program, Hub-CAP
*HRB	Human Resources Bureau, Portland
Hub-CAP	West Side Church Community Action Program, GPCC
*LEAA	Law Enforcement Assistance Administra- tion, U.S.; Washington, D.C.
MCIS	Metro Crisis Intervention Service
*MCJC	Juvenile Court, Multnomah County

*MCMHD	Mental Health Division, Multnomah County
*MCMHD-AD	Alcohol and Drug Program, MCMHD
*MCMHD-MED	Mental or Emotional Disabilities Program, MCMHD
*MW-CETA	Multnomah-Washington CETA Consortium, Multnomah County
*NIMH	National Institute of Mental Health, HEW; Washington, D.C.
NYAP	National Youth Alternatives Project; Washington, D.C.
OCRI	Oregon Capital Resources
*OLEC	Law Enforcement Council, Oregon; Salem, Or.
*OMHD	Mental Health Division, Oregon; Salem, Or.
*OYDS	Youth Diversion Services Office, HRB
*P-CETA	Refers to city CETA offices within HRB and Personnel Bureau, Portland
PACT	Portland Action Committees Together
*PB	Police Bureau, Portland
PCCM	Portland Campus Christian Ministry
*PkB	Park Bureau, Portland
PMSC	Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee
POIC	Portland Opportunities Industrialization Center
*PSD	Portland School District
*PSE	Public Service Employment Program, MW-CETA
*PSO	Public Safety Office, Portland
*PSU	Portland State University
PYA	Portland Youth Advocates
TCC	Tri-County Community Council
UGN	United Good Neighbors
*UOHSC	Health Sciences Center, University of Oregon
*WPD	Women's Protective Division, PB
YM	Youth Ministry, GPCC
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association, Columbia-Willamette. Refers to branch in Chicago, Ill. in Ch. II
*YSC	Youth Service Center Office, YSD; also refers to YSD youth service centers
*YSD	Youth Services Division, HRB
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association



## UNIT A

### ORIENTATION

The following two chapters introduce the reader to the study. Chapter I first recounts those events in Portland during the 1960s that appear to have directly led to the founding of PYA and CC; it concludes with an outline of PYA and CC's history to the present. Chapter II first reviews those previous works of scholarship that directly influenced the intended method of the study; it concludes with a concise description of that method.

## CHAPTER I

### THE CASE

#### THE SETTING<sup>1</sup>

Recent youth culture has aspired to its own lifestyle, even if that lifestyle has only been thoroughly lived by a vanguard. The origins of this subculture may be arguably located in the 1930s but it is only in the mid-sixties that it becomes sufficiently pervasive to engender perceptions of a "generation gap".<sup>2</sup> By that time its evolution especially in San Francisco is characterized by promiscuous sex and drug use, long hair and unconventional costume, folk rock music and dancing, and institutional disillusionment.

Portland entered the 1960s with over fifteen youth agencies that supplemented the youth programs of schools, churches, community centers, and the Juvenile Courts. But according to Portland Youth Advocates (PYA) in 1970, it was not until the formation of the Greater Council of Portland Churches' (GPCC) Youth Ministry (YM) in 1968 that Portland had an agency that could comprehend "hip, drug-using" youth:

The people in the Youth Ministries program that developed were the first people in Portland to know what a bum trip was and how to deal with it; they were the first to know that hepatitis came from dirty needles; the first to know what happened to kids who ran away from home and 'disappeared'; the first to understand what happened to a longhair who goes looking for a job, or a house, or some sort of help from an agency.<sup>3</sup>

The origins of this knowledge and understanding may be traced to

the dynamism of GPCC throughout the sixties. A traditional church consortium since 1919, GPCC acquired an energetic director in 1958, William B. Cate, who after five years began to transform the organization. Central to Cate's vision was that GPCC unite the area's Christian churches and catalyze neighborhood-based community action through associations of neighborhood churches. In the fall of 1963, Cate encouraged Albina's churches to employ available Methodist and Presbyterian funds to form the Northeast Church Community Action Program (C-CAP) as a GPCC subsidiary. By the following summer, C-CAP's first director, Lutheran pastor Paul Schulze, had opened an office on Fremont Street amidst GPCC excitement about its "rather daring and unique adventure."<sup>4</sup> By the fall, C-CAP had a pre-school, a Christian Youth Council, and a tutoring program in the public schools. The summer of 1965 saw C-CAP's first summer youth program, as Portland Campus Christian Ministry's (PCCM) Dick Grey joined Schulze in organizing play, recreation, and tutoring "on the streets and doorsteps of the community."<sup>5</sup> That fall the Lutheran pastor strengthened C-CAP's tie to its constituency by employing a black woman, Jessie Varner, as his assistant. By the spring of 1966 the organization was wondering whether its programs were being devised from a "white middle class perspective."<sup>6</sup> A black Multnomah County Juvenile Court (MCJC) counselor, Frank Fair, was hired that June to launch Operation Contact as a C-CAP program designed to "reach the unreachable" - alienated Albina youth. In addition to his court responsibilities that summer, Fair befriended local teenagers in taverns, pool halls, and on street corners. The counselor helped six of these organize as "The Hustlers", whose short-term objective was to earn

money doing odd jobs; their slogan was "We'll do anything for money." By the fall Fair had resigned from MCJC to direct his Operation Contact fulltime. In addition to finding remunerative work for his group, Fair sought to simultaneously involve them in social activities and in an "Opportunity School", where schoolwork could be accomplished through informal classes. In 1969 the C-CAP Opportunity School incorporated separately as the Albina Youth Opportunity School and continues at this writing to annually return some 150 drop-outs to the mainstream.

The success of church community action in the Northeast inspired other neighborhoods to begin their own organizations under GPCC sponsorship. In the fall of 1965, churches in Southeast Portland opened the East Side Church Community Action Program (East-CAP) in the Buckman neighborhood. For the next three summers, East-CAP, among its other activities, fielded a team of streetworkers in the Southeast engaged in youth outreach; this program was made year-round in the fall of 1967 through a joint effort with Portland Action Committees Together (PACT). To coordinate these burgeoning CAPs, GPCC established the Church Community Action Commission (C-CAC) in the winter of 1966. By the fall, yet another CAP had opened; downtown churches had begun the West Side Church Community Action Program (Hub-CAP).

But while GPCC had pioneered outreach techniques with sixties teenagers, it was a member church, the over century-old First Congregational, that started what was to become an entertainment center for alienated youth. Weekday evenings during the summers of 1965 and 1966, the church manned a coffee house in its basement, largely for the recreation of youngsters involved in its amateur theater productions.

In the fall of 1966, however, the church's new associate minister, John Randlett, encouraged the Young Adult Committee to make the Catacombs Coffee House a year-round commitment in order to regularly reach downtown young adults; the Catacombs was soon providing coffee, card tables, and live folk and rock music until 11 p.m. on two weekday evenings. Yet by the spring, the dim prospect for additional space persuaded the committee to close the facility.

But other church organizations filled the breach. After a week in its new headquarters, Koinonia House, PCCM inaugurated the Agora coffee house in March 1967. And as part of its initial Listening Ministry project, Hub-CAP directed volunteers to "make contact" with downtown youth; through these encounters, teenagers requested expanded coffee house access.<sup>7</sup> As the Catacombs' future clouded, Hub-CAP's new program director, Gene Horn, invited those associated with the coffee house to join in reviving the concept under Hub-CAP's aegis. Coincidentally, the First Unitarian Church, with the help of its Liberal Religious Youth, had recently remodeled its basement Youth Group Room and was seeking a creative means for its use. After several months of cooperative planning, Hub-CAP opened the Charix coffee house at the Unitarian Church on June 12; its hours that first summer were 8 p.m.-1 a.m. Mondays through Thursdays and 8 p.m.-2 a.m. on Fridays and Saturdays.

Formed to "begin a dialogue with alienated youth",<sup>8</sup> the Charix initially lured its targets with live rock, strobe lights, psychedelic art, hip advertising, inexpensive food and coffee, nominal admission for most, and free admission for those who said they couldn't afford it. A rock group which had been launched at the Catacombs, the Portland Zoo,

burgeoned at the Charix and was soon considered the facility's house band; another favorite was the PH Factor band. In the winter of 1968, the Charix had so successfully attracted countercultural youth that volunteer attendants were asked to familiarize themselves with a list of some 200 hip terms. By January a police agent had become convinced that the coffee house was "the main center for drug pushing in Portland".<sup>9</sup> In a city-wide raid on the night of January 11 that charged some 50 youths with narcotics violations, the Police Bureau (PB) arrested three Charix patrons inside the facility. But rather than desert the Charix, Hub-CAP stood by its experiment: "The past eight months, culminating in the most recent events, have strengthened the determination of all associated with the Charix ministry to continue . . .", it declared; ". . . here among these youth, drugs, long hair, rebellious stance and all, is where Christ would be found today." More importantly, Hub-CAP's Charix committee moved in a closed meeting to assist those arrested with their defense and deduced that "the police will be tough [in their future surveillance] now that they know we are aware of what we are involved in . . .".<sup>10</sup> In the spring of 1969, Charix's new board identified youth advocacy as one of its three objectives.

In addition to launching the Charix in the summer of 1967, Hub-CAP began some outreach of its own. In July Gene Horn and Randy Grauer began a "streetworker" program for youth in the Terwilliger neighborhood. Horn, Grauer, and an aide would visit teenagers in front of the Terwilliger School to chat with them, play games with them, and take them around the city and on outings.

Based on conversations with Charix patrons, Hub-CAP proposed three

other youth programs in the winter of 1968: a drop-in counseling center, a crisis house, and a free clinic. The former went formally unrealized until the fall. The crisis house, named Rivendell, located in the Corbett neighborhood in January and provided short term berths for up to four youngsters. The latter opened as Outside-In clinic in June 1968. Separately incorporated a few months later, Outside In continues at this writing to annually serve some 20,000 clients.

By the spring of 1968 C-CAC feared that with the demise of Haight-Ashbury, Portland would become the next summer refuge for hip Western youth in addition to having to cope with indigenous alienated youth. To prepare for this possibility, C-CAC started a Black Summer Program employing Colden Brown as director and a Summer Youth Program with Gene Horn as director. Operating out of an office at PCCM, Horn coordinated an expanded streetwork program and initiated a counseling program for runaways; these complemented a resource location program for needy youth simultaneously begun by Hub-CAP. The streetwork program included outreach in the Southeast and in Lair Hill Park. Through an agreement with MCJC, the runaway program assured runaways confidentiality as they assessed their options; unfortunately, this plan, like the Charix, was continually criticized by PB.<sup>11</sup> The Health Intervention Program (HIP), Hub-CAP's resource location program that eventually located in the downtown Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA), tried to connect clients with housing, clothing, food, jobs, and counseling. Hub-CAP as well continued youth work in Terwilliger, establishing the Carp Valley Teen Center in April; the center was equipped with recreational equipment and offered crafts, sailing, theater, journalism, and sports

activities until it closed in the fall. And a dynamic unit of East-CAP, the Centenary-Wilbur Methodist Church, contributed to that active summer by opening the Ninth Street Exit coffee house on the Fourth of July.

Towards the end of the summer of 1968, the Summer Youth Program concluded that it had made "a very real and positive contribution to the community life" of Portland youth; it asked that its work be extended until the end of the year as a youth ministry reporting to C-CAC. The program additionally proposed that it locate in a "suitable facility" around Lair Hill Park and that it incorporate HIP, but that HIP be retitled Switchboard, to signify an emphasis on telephone response.<sup>12</sup>

C-CAC agreed to continue sponsorship and authorized a Youth Ministry Development Committee to coordinate management in the fall. In December 1968 YM moved into a house on S.W. Second and Hooker which, like the former coffee house, was dubbed "The Catacombs". But although Horn had campaigned for the facility, he was not to join YM there; his resignation was requested by C-CAC that same month. As predicted, the Catacombs intensified YM's ongoing programs - Runaway and Streetwork - and launched Switchboard; in February Switchboard initiated a 24-hour answering service.

The Development Committee, meanwhile, moved to solidify YM's future. In the winter of 1969 it renewed its affiliation with C-CAC for another year and requested \$38,000 from GPCC's fundraisers. In addition the committee changed its name to Advisory Board and persuaded a police Sergeant, Maris Wesson, and an energetic Legal Aid attorney, Neil Goldschmidt, to join and advise it. But by May the Nixon era had dampened optimism: GPCC fundraising had fared poorly and there was



continuing pressure on Hub-CAP from various sources to close the Charix. A mood of retrenchment set in, a feeling that, in the later words of C-CAC's chairman, GPCC had "overextended" itself and gotten "ahead" of its members.<sup>13</sup> YM concluded that its future with GPCC was now "doubtful" and considered becoming an independent corporation. C-CAC said it had no objection.<sup>14</sup>

To assist both the Charix and YM, PCCM agreed in July to assume the "interim directorship" of a Charix-Youth Ministry (C-YM) partnership and encouraged the group to chart an organization that could umbrella its ongoing and new services for contemporary youth. To husband scarce funds, C-YM withdrew its YM component from the Catacombs in September, moving it adjacent to the Charix at the First Unitarian Church. Later that fall it designated three task forces: Agora - to coordinate the PCCM coffee house with the other task forces; Charix - to maintain the coffee house at the First Unitarian Church; and Contact - to continue runaway and referral service through an emphasis on personal contact with clients and coordination with Agora. With its plans in place, C-YM separately incorporated as Portland Youth Advocates (PYA) in December.

To achieve its perceived goals, PYA headquartered at PCCM and closed the YM component in December and launched the Contact task force in January; in addition, PCCM chaplains Joe Dubay and Jim Gardner were chosen as PYA's interim co-directors. At the outset Contact identified four priorities: in-person employment referral, runaway counseling, volunteer placement, and hostel referral. To a former YM volunteer writing in the Willamette Bridge, this was a "more clearly defined if somewhat more limited" metamorphosis of YM. The writer also dubbed

Contact's office "the Contact Center"; the name stuck and was used that summer to name a new program.<sup>15</sup>

Contact's emphases, however, alienated former Switchboard director, Kathy Newbill, who saw a continuing role in youth service for telephone resource information. In January Newbill helped Jim Moore resurrect Switchboard as a separate organization - first at the YMCA, then at Centenary-Wilbur Methodist Church; yet in the spring, Switchboard agreed to maintain pro forma association with PYA through September in exchange for some personnel support. Switchboard continued until 1972.

Over Gardner's objection, pressure from PB obliged PYA to close the Charix in March and fuse its task force with Agora's. By the spring PYA was recruiting funds and staff for three summer task forces - Contact, Streetwork, and the affiliated Switchboard; in June the organization began prospectively referring to these groups as programs. PYA originally intended that, in the summer, Contact's director, Cal Scott, supervise the runaway component headed by Margaret Hunt. But, as PYA later explained, the runaway component came to be "considered a separate [program] because of the specialized knowledge involved."<sup>16</sup> For its part, Contact evolved as well. Its winter prospectus notwithstanding, Contact became a drop-in center and a telephone service that put clients in touch gratis with resources for housing, food, medical care, counseling, companionship, transportation, entertainment, employment, clothing, legal aid, draft counseling etc. Some of these services were offered in-house, such as counseling, drug information, and emergency transportation; most, however, required referral to other agencies, professionals, or private parties.

In July Scott constructed a partition in the Contact office to divide the runaway component from other activities of the program. By the second week of August, there were separate telephone numbers for the runaway service and the hotline/drop-in service. The runaway service retained the name Contact and its original telephone number; the hotline/drop-in service employed the program's previous nickname, Contact Center, and a new telephone number. Although only in its second month, the Contact program had spawned a scion.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE CONTACT CENTER PROGRAM

PYA's Contact Center program (CC) is the subject of the ensuing study. Over its nine-year history, this PYA counseling program assumed four names: the Contact Center (August 1970-August 1971, July 1976-September 1979), the Drop-in Center (August 1971-October 1972), the Counseling Resource Center (October 1972-June 1976), and Social Services (November 1973). To complicate matters, PYA's facilities at PCCM (January 1970-October 1972) and the old Elks Temple under PYA's first two leases (October 1972-June 1976) were known as the Contact Center; as a result, other PYA programs, PYA, and its sub-tenants at the old Elks Temple were often associated with the name Contact Center.

At no time during its history did CC ever enjoy legal status; legally CC always remained an appendage of PYA. In practice, of course, CC often negotiated with public and private officials as if it were an independent organization. And because the ensuing study is concerned with CC's behavior, it will refer to certain of these transactions as CC applications.

In the fall of 1970 PYA underwent a revision: the Contact program became the Runaway Program and CC absorbed the Streetwork program. Joe Dubay, who had considered himself co-director of PYA as late as August, became sole director until the end of the year; he was successively replaced by staff members. PCCM closed the Agora in the spring of 1971 due to financial difficulties. The following summer PYA announced two new programs and the extension of an existing one: 1) a free school that became known as the Open Meadow program, 2) a suburban foster home that became known as the Group Home program and 3) a foster home component of the Runaway Program that became known as Out Front House. Open Meadow and Out Front House located together that summer in a house in the Buckman neighborhood; the Group Home settled in a house in Forest Grove in the fall. As well in the summer of 1971, the Streetwork program was revived as a separate program called Outreach; by the summer of 1972, however, it had once again been absorbed by CC.

In March 1972 PYA procured a \$160,000 grant from the Oregon Capital Resources (OCRI) foundation for the leasing and staffing of a "suitable building" for its "various" programs for up to a five-year period.<sup>18</sup> Through OCRI funds, the organization moved that fall to the old Elks Temple, a three-story building in the Stadium district that featured an elevator, a bar, a kitchen, a dumbwaiter, and a shower room. Most programs housed at the facility; only the Group Home and the Out Front House component remained at their locations. By the winter of 1973, PYA had closed the Group Home and begun three new services at its headquarters: 1) the Arbuckle Flat coffee house program, 2) the Family Circus theater company program and 3) the short-lived Nine Dragons art

gallery. Funding difficulties that fall obliged PYA to discontinue the Out Front House component while merging the remainder of the Runaway Program with CC. After new funding was arranged, however, Out Front House was revived in the winter of 1974, becoming a separate PYA program in the spring. During that same year PYA experimented with another short-lived program: a graphics design and printing program called Emptyspace Productions.

From the spring of 1973 PYA assisted the Youth Diversion Services Office (OYDS) and the Human Resources Bureau (HRB) in planning further realization of a multi-centered system for juvenile diversion, i.e. the direction of youth in police custody to special service centers rather than to juvenile courts; as a result, in its renewal request for Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) funds in May 1974, the Public Safety Office (PSO) designated PYA as the operator of the intended downtown night center in that system. Yet, although the renewal was obtained, HRB indefinitely postponed funding PYA in October; to make matters worse, PYA's OCRI grant was by then nearly depleted and the organization's residence in its convenient, spacious facility became tenuous. To relieve PYA in 1975, the city granted it two kinds of assistance through June 1976: 1) \$25,000 in general funds for its facility's rent and utilities and 2) three CETA contracts amounting to \$52,000 for personnel support.

PYA purchased the Out Front House facility in March 1976. But faced that summer with more limited city funding and the exhaustion of the OCRI grant, it was unable to renew its lease of the old Elks Temple and migrated with CC to a modest storefront in the Northwest. From that

time, CC began altering its services - first limiting its drop-in services, then abandoning its youth focus, and finally discontinuing its hotline. For their parts, Open Meadow moved to the Linnea building in the Northwest, Family Circus to a house in the Buckman neighborhood, while Arbuckle Flat closed temporarily. PYA operated a youth employment program, Self-Reliance, from April-September 1977 at Out Front House. With improved funding in the fall of 1977, the organization returned to the old Elks Temple and reopened Arbuckle Flat; both remained there into the summer of 1979.

A few days before Arbuckle's reopening in November, CC's quarters in the Northwest were gutted by fire, obliging the program to take refuge in the home of four of its counselors on Salmon Street in the Sunnyside neighborhood. In January 1978 CC moved to a suite of basement rooms at the Laurelwood Methodist Church in the Arleta neighborhood. Its final home was the second floor of the old Odd Fellows Home in the Reed neighborhood, where it located in June. Faced a year later with the prospect of insufficient funding, the staff decided to disband the program; with PYA's agreement, CC's last week of service was the second week of September 1979.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL REMNANTS

PYA managed to initiate yet another program in the spring of 1978: Mainstream, a counseling program for alcoholic youth, which began adjacent to CC at the old Odd Fellows Home. A few months after Arbuckle's demise in the summer of 1979, PYA directed its remaining programs to seek independent futures. Over the next year, Mainstream, Open Meadow,

and Out Front House separately incorporated while Family Circus joined CC and Arbuckle Flat in oblivion. For its part, PYA retreated first to a former CC office at the old Odd Fellows Home, then to a post office box, and finally to a box at this School. It is currently seeking funds for a program that will specifically involve youth advocacy.

Mainstream, meanwhile, moved in April 1980 to a house in the Foster neighborhood where it continues to annually counsel some 200 young alcoholics. Open Meadow's current home is at the Columbia Boys Club in the Kenton neighborhood; the center annually instructs some 75 pupils. Out Front House remains a small group home in the Buckman neighborhood and continues to own its facility.

#### SUBJECT IN THE LITERATURE

In 1973 PYA was cited as one of 65 subjects of a study of innovative youth services by four Michigan social workers. Subjects had been invited to one of three conferences where they had been asked to complete a four-part questionnaire and discuss myriad aspects of their agencies, including its organization, process, personnel, and community relations.<sup>19</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### THE STUDY

The author aims to discover the reason(s) for CC's inability to survive in Portland. In approaching CC's history, he is assisted by literature pertaining to organizational perpetuation, fundraising for social welfare organizations, and case study methodology.

Before proposing new strategies for organizational renewal, Lippitt portrays six stages in the lifespan of a typical organization. It is during the second stage, he submits, that organizations are usually confronted with serious challenges to their survival. Lippitt asserts in this regard that three-quarters of new businesses fail by their second year; he blames this high mortality on many factors, including "poor products or services, lack of planning and foresight, unrealistic assessment of the market, inadequate capitalization, and leadership inexperience."<sup>1</sup>

Prior to examining the goals of four types of general hospitals, Perrow lists four tasks that every organization must achieve: securing of sufficient capital, securing of acceptance of activity, marshalling of necessary skills, and coordination of internal activities and relations with other organizations, clients, and consumers. He holds that the importance of these tasks will vary at given moments and that the variance will correspond with the type of work the organization is doing and its stage of development.<sup>2</sup>



Etzioni considers the relationship between the roles various elites play and social change in Israel. Before doing so, he evolves a theoretical approach to delineating the various types of elites in a given social system. In the process, he adopts Parson's understanding of the four functions that a social system must confront; in Etzioni's view, these include the need to control the environment, achieve a goal, maintain solidarity, and sustain held values.<sup>3</sup>

In a theoretical article, Thompson and McEwen postulate that organizations adjust their goals in accordance with what they learn from their environment through the processes of competition, bargaining, cooption, and coalition with other entities in the environment. One of their conclusions is that, in order to survive, organizations must apprehend their environment "accurately enough and quickly enough to permit organizational adjustments in time to avoid distinction."<sup>4</sup>

Clark studies the adjustments of the Los Angeles School System's Adult Education Branch as an example of organizational adaptation by a subject associated with a "precarious value". He defines precarious value as a belief generally regarded as vague, unacceptable, or represented by agents who are not fully legitimized; in the instance of the Adult Education Branch, the precarious value is liberal education. Clark discovered that, faced with budgetary and enrollment declines, the branch permitted member schools to compromise this original mission so that they might better cater to the demands of their adult student constituencies. On the basis of this finding, Clark concludes that, as such subjects encounter isolation, the requirements of security and survival will likely oblige them to normalize their goals in order to

gain the acceptance of a "diffuse social base."<sup>5</sup>

Tsouderos focuses on the organizational progress of ten voluntary associations in Minneapolis, including churches, unions, and welfare organizations. In order to compare their development, he charts their institutional history over a period of fifteen years by annually measuring five variables whose relation to the problem is thought to be "strategic." This enables Tsouderos to determine a definite functional relationship between organizational variables indicative of institutional change.<sup>6</sup>

There is a couple of intriguing studies of philanthropic fundraising. In order to discover how business people are recruited and managed in voluntary philanthropic campaigns, Ross interviews those who have played important roles in such campaigns in an eastern Canadian city. She learns, among other things, that a successful campaign requires the sponsorship of members of the area's "inner circle", which is composed of a small group of prestigious big businessmen: ". . . this is equivalent to saying," she concludes, "that [members] can decide which campaigns shall be held and for what objective."<sup>7</sup> In a study of the internal and external operations of the March of Dimes, Sills employs questionnaires and interviews to measure selected attitudes of volunteers and the public. On the basis of the responses, he appreciates that the organization's fundraising success is due, among other things, to its "widespread public acceptance," its "legitimacy", the particular appeal of one of its programs, and the public's fear of polio.<sup>8</sup>

Despite increasing regard for comparative studies among contemporary social scholars, there continue to be spirited and informed

defenses of case study methodology. Before exploring the transformation of the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Zald accepts the challenge of demonstrating the "continuing value of case studies at a time when many scholars have argued for a turn to comparative analysis." He additionally remarks the ability of case research to "elaborate and develop concepts and conceptual frameworks." In reviewing organizational methodology, Barton cites several qualitative case studies that extend over time and examine behavior sequentially; he contends that such approaches "permit derivation of relationships of organizational variables."<sup>9</sup>

Five constructs for the ensuing study may be derived from a comprehensive analysis of these examples (see Figure 1); the constructs in turn suggest the hypothetical variables for the study's design (see below). Ross, Perrow, and Lippitt attest to the importance of market strategy in organizational survival. Etzioni, Perrow, and Lippitt demonstrate the necessity of internal integrity. Attention to external relations is paid by Clark, Sills, and Perrow while appreciation of capability and mapping is registered by Perrow, Lippitt, and Thompson and McEwen.

Rather than attempt to assign CC's decline to a specific period of time, the author is inclined to see the program's demise as a consequence of its chronic failure to incorporate itself in Portland's social environment. To analyze and conclude from this failure, the author proposes an ex post facto case study of CC's development. For purposes of economy, the program's decade of operation will be divided into five

Example	Constructs				
	Market strategy	Internal integrity	External relations	Capability	Intelligence
Clark			Support base		
Etzioni		Unity Value maintenance			
Ross	Sponsorship				
Sills			Popularity Legitimacy Need perception		
Perrow	Capital procurement	Coordination	Legitimacy Peer and sponsor relations	Skill assemblage	
Lippitt	Market assessment	Leadership		Service quality	Planning
Thompson and McEwen					Intelligence

Figure 1. Derivation of five constructs from examples in the literature.

representative time periods: 1) August 1970-October 1972, 2) October 1972-June 1975, 3) July 1975-June 1976, 4) July 1976-November 1977 and 5) November 1977-September 1979. Time periods 1, 4, and 5 coincide with the months that CC was at Koinonia House, Lovejoy, and a succession of three locations in the Southeast; time periods 2 and 3 coincide with the months that CC was at the old Elks Temple - the former when its overhead was privately guaranteed, the latter when its overhead was publicly guaranteed. The author will use designated instruments to test for designated factors in each time period.

The author holds that performance in the following factors accounted for CC's devolution:

1. CC's funding, by which is meant procurement of its financial support by itself or PYA. Funding data includes expectations or demands made or implied to CC or PYA in return for funding.

2. CC's and PYA's internal organization, by which is meant their social patterns of leadership, authority, discipline, accountability, decision-making, morale, and participation.

3. CC's and PYA's community and political relations, by which is meant their interaction with neighborhood groups, social organizations, other social service organizations, and public officials, including the police.

4. CC's competence, by which is meant its professional and paraprofessional abilities in counseling, resource location, and referral.

5. CC's and PYA's internal planning, by which is meant their studies and assessments of goals, clientele, services, personnel, and

funding sources as well as research, forecasting, and development of new goals, clientele, services, personnel, and funding sources.

The author divides sources of information into four categories:

1. Overseers of CC, including PCCM officials, OCRI, relevant city officials during the third period, and PYA officials.
2. CC personnel, including supervisors, other staff members, and volunteer professionals and paraprofessionals.
3. Interested observers, including community leaders, professional colleagues, police, and government officials not included in the first category.
4. Records, including minutes, memoranda, announcements, and publications of CC or PYA; minutes, memoranda, announcements and publications of funding sources, legal firms, government offices, or other human service organizations regarding CC or PYA; newspaper and periodical articles or radio and television programs about CC or PYA.

For each time period, the author will typically conduct a standardized in-depth interview with a representative source from each of the first three categories as well as examine selected archives in the fourth category. The author served as PYA's community relations director from February-July 1975; his recollections are included as additional data of the second and third period.

Initially, data will be selectively presented for each time period. Periodic examination will be followed by the introduction of such supplemental concepts as may be required. A conclusion will be drawn after a comprehensive review of the data.

The author is not aware of a preceding systematic case study regarding the perpetuation of what is often called an alternative human service program (see Chapter X). Kanter and Zurcher only abstractly consider the paradox of "the declaration of independence from society at large coupled with the need for selective dependence" experienced by alternative institutions. Kolton et al. question representatives from 65 innovative youth service agencies regarding myriad aspects of their organizations, including their funding, structure, community relations, treatment, and development; the study's analysis, however, is descriptive and pluralistic and does not specifically address the issue of perpetuation. Holleb and Abrams examine the adjustments of eight alternative community mental health centers over five years. But their work differs from the ensuing study in that, in addition to identifying more than one subject, it does not systematically incorporate time, factors, sources, and queries in a research design.<sup>10</sup>

## UNIT B

### DATA

The following five chapters present selected data regarding CC and PYA's performance. Each chapter is devoted to a single time period; the periods are considered chronologically.

The format of each chapter begins with a list of respondents interviewed regarding that time period; respondents are concisely described and evaluated in Sources. The list is followed by five sections with each section devoted to the consideration of a single factor. The factors are examined in the same order they were enunciated in Chapter II.

Records used for each time period are cited in Sources; those quoted from are identified in footnotes.



### CHAPTER III

AUGUST 1970-OCTOBER 1972

As sources for this chapter, interviews were recorded with Joe Dubay, Lee Meier, and Richard Thompson.<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, attributions to these respondents refer to these interviews.

#### FUNDING

Throughout the period PYA received in-kind support from PCCM in the form of a basement office, staff assistance, executive directors through 1970 etc. It procured the use of a van for about a year from the American Red Cross. PACT, East-CAP, and the First Methodist Church together provided three supplemental staff members in the summer of 1970.

PYA funding varied during the period. During 1970 four-figure contributions were obtained from GPCC (@\$3800) and the Oregon Diocese of the Episcopal Church (@\$1300); smaller contributions were accepted from the Oregon Synod of the Presbyterian Church, the Emergency Life Support Coalition, United Good Neighbors (UGN), an anonymous donor, and over 30 other contributors. PACT provided salary increments for some PYA streetworkers in the summer; Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee (PMSM) offered some \$3000 in personnel support in the fall. Total 1970 receipts were about \$10,000 in addition to PMSM and PACT support. Other PYA fundraising efforts in 1970 included asking business people to

sponsor a worker, requesting assistance from PSO, and a proposal to UGN in the fall requesting assistance with projected expenses of between about \$25,000-80,000 for FY 1972. That same fall PYA held a fundraising dinner and ran a booth at the Poor People's Conference.

In the second semester of 1971 PYA received grants from HEW and Columbia Regional Association of Governments (CRAG), contributions from UGN and Portland Federal Savings, and summer personnel support from PMSC. The HEW grant provided some \$26,000 for FY in 1972 to operate a free school program. The CRAG grant furnished some \$58,000 for FY 1972 to maintain and add a foster home component to the Runaway Program. UGN forwarded some \$1300 to aid the Runaway Program until it received the CRAG grant. The bank allotted \$1000 for the establishment of a group home in Forest Grove; the Children's Services Division (CSD) thereafter reimbursed the home on a per diem basis for sheltering youngsters the division referred to it. PMSC assisted with \$1400 from May-September. In the fall of 1971 PYA launched a membership drive at a party in a private residence in the Dunthorpe area. Membership fees ranged from \$3-100 and entitled donors to a quarterly bulletin and statuses ranging from supporter to founder.

PYA applied to Mayor Terry Schrunk's office each spring for inclusion in his summer youth program, which had helped to support YM streetwork in the summer of 1969. In the spring of 1970 it asked for \$18,000 but was refused. The following spring it requested \$14,000 and was eventually allocated some \$5900 for outreach, counseling, runaway, and temporary housing services. PYA was not included in the 1972 program but, at the suggestion of the mayor's office, PMSC forwarded it

some \$11,000 for summer outreach work; PMSC had agreed to compliment the Summer 72 Program with some \$60,000 from its versatile funds.

On March 7, 1972, PYA submitted a five-page proposal to OCRI, a recently established private foundation with assets of over two million dollars, specializing in five-to-six-figure grants to children's and youth agencies. Citing the "multitude of problems facing youth", its successful history, and its need for a "larger facility," PYA requested \$160,000 over a five-year period; during that time a drop-in center and a hotline would be staffed and housed in a leased downtown building in conjunction with most of PYA's other programs.<sup>2</sup> OCRI approved the proposal that same day but remained publicly anonymous as a PYA donor until City Council hearings on PYA in April 1975.

CC's share of PYA funding during this period was primarily employed for its staff salaries, telephone bills, office supplies, and dormitory costs for clients. From mid-August to mid-September 1970, CC accounted for \$80 in salaries and a telephone bill of some \$50. From mid-October to mid-November, CC accounted for \$325 in salaries, a telephone bill of some \$80, and about half of a YMCA bill of some \$50. CC received in-house staff assistance throughout the period from the Streetwork, Outreach, and Runaway programs.

During his tenure as CC director, Meier referred most fundraising chores to other staff members: "I really wasn't that much interested in budgets and proposals. It was Margaret Hunt's suggestion that [that] really wasn't my forte so that's not what I should do. I should work with people and with the staff. I don't know, that's really where I got off." In the fall of 1970 Meier reported that he was investigating

foundation sources; it was this avenue that eventually led PYA to OCRI.

In June 1970 PYA and Switchboard projected a summer staff of 18, reserving three for the Contact program; in September 1970 they confirmed a summer staff of 16 that included a CC director. In the fall of 1970 CC and the Runaway program maintained a staff of six: a CC director, a Runaway director, and four Runaway workers. In March 1971 the two programs informed the Tri-County Community Council (TCC) they had a staff of nine; in the winter of 1972 PYA thought it required a central staff of eight to work effectively, plus additional staff for Out Front House, Open Meadow, and projected CC outreach. PYA staff salaries between September 15-October 15, 1970 varied between \$40 and \$80 per month; with PMSC support, PYA raised staff salaries to between \$325-400 per month from October 15-December 31. In June 1970 PYA projected a summer budget of some \$3400 per month, with some \$1000 earmarked for the Contact program. In October CC and the Runaway Program reported combined monthly expenses of \$1900. From September to May 1971, PYA reported expenses of \$10,000.

According to Dubay, PYA fundraising was "very much uphill" during his tenure as executive director, owing to the controversial character of youth advocacy during the period. Factors stigmatizing PYA included negative press associated with its predecessor, YM, widespread opposition to the tenets of the Runaway Program, and disapproval of in vivo contact with youth culture. Thompson confirmed that there wasn't "general public acceptance" regarding the tenets of the Runaway Program and PYA's "influence on children" that would have facilitated major UGN funding of the Runaway Program, for example.

## ORGANIZATION

PYA's initial board consisted of 14 members from metropolitan Portland occupationally affiliated with social work, law, medicine, religion, journalism, and business; it dropped to nine in 1971. During the period, the board was led by three chairmen, replaced about annually. Board meetings were held monthly; Thompson remembered those he attended as similar to other organizations - open, informal, yet adhering to an agenda. In the spring of 1972, Terry Jones called for a "more informed and active Board." In the fall of 1973 Don Cron retrospectively noted that "the staff has traditionally resisted strong Board influence."<sup>3</sup>

Because PYA received such important in-kind assistance from PCCM, the organization was also answerable to the PCCM board, especially while Dubay, a PCCM chaplain, was PYA's executive director. In October 1971 PYA assured the PCCM board that efforts would be made to prohibit drugs, maintain upkeep, and construct a fire partition at Koinonia House. For its part, PCCM regarded PYA as a "necessary continuation and logical component to our ministry. . . . We believe that we are exchanging space for additional staff. In no way do we see [PYA] as being extraneous to our general purpose or program." In January 1971 Dubay was succeeded in PYA by the Runaway Program director, Margaret Hunt, who was not connected with PCCM; in March he recounted: "The interim is over. PYA has come of age. . . . Our staff role now will be basically advisory. I will work directly only in staff training and support for fundraising. The PYA will continue to operate parts of its program from the K House facility. While the programs are still conceived as part of

our ministry, the relation will be more close coalition than direct."<sup>4</sup>  
 In July PCCM proposed that PYA and PCCM invite a member from each other's organization to sit on each other's boards. PYA directors sat on PCCM's House Policy Committee in 1971.

By the close of the period, PYA consisted of four programs: CC and Runaway at PCCM and Out Front House, Open Meadow at Out Front House, and the Group Home in Forest Grove. The Runaway Program occasionally referred clients to CC. As mentioned, CC received assistance from the Runaway, Streetwork, and Outreach programs; in the summer of 1972, outreach activities were under the direction of CC (see funding). From the winter of 1972 PYA was led by a pair of associate directors, Don Cron and Terry Jones.

Until the summer of 1971, CC and Runaway - and Streetwork in the summer of 1970 - framed PYA policy at common meetings; consequently, PYA and CC data concerning internal organization is frequently interchangeable in the first part of the period. Dubay recalled that in the summer of 1970:

The internal organization of the programs at that time was chaotic basically. There were key figures: Cal Scott had direct responsibility for oversight of the Contact Center and the Streetwork program; Margaret Hunt had responsibility for the oversight of the Runaway Program. We operated to a large extent by participatory democracy. Most of the decisions were made by the staff really; a large involvement by the staff in policy decisions and in . . . day to day decisions about the program. Key figures that . . . played key positions from the beginning are, as I mentioned, Cal Scott and Margaret Hunt; Lee Meier and Don Cron also emerge as key figures in decision making and undertaking specific activities.

Throughout Dubay's directorship, PYA programs were nevertheless answerable to him. "I felt a tension in that role," he explained. "In a

sense, I was the boss as the administrative director of the operation. And yet . . . in reality I never was the boss . . . What power I had was the respect of the individuals within the group."

According to Lee Meier, the pattern of authority in 1970 was satisfactory to CC. "The flow chart looked good. There was somebody on top, there was somebody in the middle, and there were a bunch of volunteers on the bottom. There was Joe on top, Margaret Hunt and I kind of in the middle, and then there were the volunteers."

Meier wryly defined his style of leadership as "psychedelic. I tried to be charismatic. I was pretty enthused about alternative culture. I was really almost ministerial in my approach to defining what the counterculture existence was. That's how I tried to affect other people, through my enthusiasm." Once, when a CC staff member offered to "squash" an effusive volunteer, Meier told him it was "silly to try to think in such powerful terms. It was just totally alien to me to think in terms of his position or my position as being powerful."

Throughout the period, PYA held weekly staff meetings as well as additional training sessions. According to Dubay, staff meetings progressed in a "non-linear fashion . . . There was a lot of personal processing between individuals in the group as we proceeded towards decisions . . . It's really amazing . . . that we got any business done; however, that did happen and the process did mold the group as a team." "There was a lot of humor," Meier remembered. "We generally tried to have a little wine, maybe some bread . . . I wanted the meetings to be a phenomenon, not just covering business. People got screwy, did skits, you know."

Morale within PYA was high. "The staff was very much a team," Dubay said. Meier rated CC morale as "real good". PYA staff members encountered by Thompson were "enthusiastic, energetic, and had a commitment towards helping the child." "We hang in there," an Outreach worker assured a noted columnist in 1971. "We dig the program."<sup>5</sup>

PYA continued the practice of relying on volunteers begun by its predecessors. A C-YM recruitment letter sent in September 1969 asked selected organizations for "appropriate individuals", i.e. those "willing to be involved with youth and mature enough to work with young people, college or high school, street and straight." Volunteers were asked to "give a block of time each week" and to "take part in a continuing training program."<sup>6</sup>

Meier guessed that during the summer of 1970, PYA employed some 20 volunteers; by the winter that had dropped to between 10 and 15. Volunteers played a "large part", Dubay explained. "Many volunteers were an integral part of the staff and participated in meetings. Other volunteers were there because we couldn't get rid of them." Some made a "real contribution, others were to a large extent working out their own agendas." "We'd get street characters that would hang around," confirmed Meier, "and they would sit down on the phone and try and take over. We had some problems with those kind of people. The lid got put on that kind of stuff pretty quickly."

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Throughout the period, CC was typically represented by PYA. During the period PYA went from "relatively low visibility" to an



organization with a reputation as a "major advocate of young adults and youth in the downtown area," according to Dubay. "We had a pretty good reputation in the community [for] solving problems on the street that other people couldn't solve," Meier added. Within local government, Thompson remembered a few supporters of PYA in CSD and MCJC who argued that the organization was "providing service that a standard social service agency did not provide." But "the majority of the people were unwilling to take a position because of the controversy and negative publicity" associated with PYA's predecessor, YM.

PYA representatives were involved in a number of radio and television programs regarding youth advocacy as well as presentations to church groups, civic organizations, and high schools. In a visit to Roosevelt High School in the fall of 1971, Terry Kent familiarized students with Open Meadow, Out Front House, and CC, mentioning CC's wide range of referral resources and its accessibility to residents, transients, and travelers. Representatives also addressed classes at Aloha High School. Additionally, PCCM chaplains and PYA board members, in numerous public appearances, supported the concept of youth advocacy. Thompson affirmed that PYA's image "did get some help . . . by their alliance with [PCCM]."

Meier remembered a number of other events specifically involving CC: a weekend seminar on drugs with the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Bureau (ATF), a seminar on drugs at Portland State University (PSU), appearances on KGW-TV's "Collision Course", and a presentation on counterculture to Tektronix workers during their area release time. At the seminar with ATF, Meier recalled that "we were trying to turn them

on to some of our countercultural ideas, our religious ideas and beliefs. The statement that we were trying to make was that we were definitely creating a different society." After a similar presentation at Tektronix, Meier thought that "we ended up making some really good friends and having a lot of fun." There was, of course, some opposition at these presentations. At Tektronix, there was "a grumpy old man and a grumpy old woman sitting in the back, just pissed as hell . . . They seemed very out of place. Almost all their other co-workers were swayed by our genuineness." In a discussion at Parkrose High School, Cindy Buhl assured pupils that CC was "a place where kids can drop in: You can come in and sit down, play cards, listen to music, get warm, or whatever. It's just a continual idiotic atmosphere where people are in tune to other people and their needs and can show some kind of human concern."<sup>7</sup>

PYA cooperated with Oregonian reporters during the summers of 1970 and 1971, resulting in lengthy positive coverage of their activities on three occasions; in addition, streetworkers Stuart Zisman, Sue McCroskey, and Johnny Dicile were the subjects of a Journal column in August 1971. In its last feature of the period on PYA, the Oregonian referred to CC as "the heart and soul" of the organization. Both the Oregonian and the Journal covered the PYA membership drive in the fall of 1971, with the Oregonian supporting the drive with an editorial:

The Contact Center . . . has proved a beneficial aid not only to youthful travelers but the city as well . . . Center staffers have also helped keep both Portland's streets and 'street people' cool and calm this past summer . . . The center and its staff deserves Portland's support.<sup>8</sup>

Writing as "Mistress of Propaganda," Valerie Brown contributed an article about CC and Runaway to the Prism that same fall; the PYA assistant discussed the concepts of the Runaway program, the atmosphere of CC, CC's "crashing" service, and PYA's need for donations.

PYA's community relations during the period was assisted by its sponsorship of and participation in several community projects. In the summer of 1970 PYA took part in the Poor People's Convention (see Funding) and held weekly potluck dinners at the Agora; in the fall, these dinners were featuring talks on health and resources. The following fall PYA participated in the American Friends Service Committee's Alternative Lifestyles Festival: CC joined the Hotline Coalition workshops that fostered cooperation among four Portland hotlines while Open Meadow discussed free education with three similar Portland schools. That same fall Brown reported that PYA had run a crafts fair during the summer. The following month Buhl reported that music, recreation, and clean-ups in the parks, potluck dinners, and music and theater workshops had also been organized. That winter, PYA resumed the Green Fingers Project to enable low-income neighborhoods in the Southwest to grow their own food.

Out Front House printed a two-page pamphlet describing its services in the winter of 1972; although PYA had previously mimeographed a pamphlet, this apparently was the organization's first printed one.

PYA's relationship with PB was strained at its inception as a result of the bureau's evaluation of its Charix and Contact task forces. In January 1970, PB informed the mayor that Charix supervisor Jean Van Deusen is:

fairly cooperative but identifies with the children. She is well aware of the records of [six youths with records] but she feels they are 'good kids' and will not exclude them from the Charix . . . Mr. Pat McNassar . . . is in charge of the runaway program. He has never contacted WPD about a runaway and will not give us information about particular children when he is contacted by us . . . Whenever police officers go to the Charix on a routine check, they are met at the door by one of the supervisors and are followed the entire time they are inside. If officers attempt to question a child, they are interrupted by one of the supervisors. They ask what the officers want and why they are questioning the child.

In March WPD informed its superior that "there have been no obvious changes in the clientele or the operation of the Charix" and that it was "concerned" that a young person with a long record was employed there as a staff member. PYA charged that these reports were "replete with insinuation, innuendoes, and gratuitous assumptions."<sup>9</sup>

Meier remembered that "there were some struggles dealing with the police right at first, in terms of the Runaway Program more than anything." According to Thompson, the police felt that PYA was "an interfering agent" that was "turning kids on to various negative activities: drugs, communal living, whatever else their fears or concerns were." The counselor observed a moderation of this attitude, however, after the Runaway Program formalized understandings with the police and the courts in 1971. That summer PYA Outreach workers persuaded a local collective to call off a scheduled police-baiting game in Washington Park and, in general, dissuaded youngsters with knives and guns from using them. By the spring of 1972, PYA's police relations seemed quite repaired. After PYA was denied sufficient Summer 72 funds in March, PB argued that their request be reconsidered. Central Precinct Commander Capt. N.F. Reiter pointed out that in previous summers PYA

streetworkers had been used:

to syphon off spectators and impressionable youths whom the drug sellers have tried to use in confrontations with the police in Washington Park. [PYA] also provides sleeping facilities for youths traveling through Portland and, thus, helps avoid the police problems inherent in this group camping in parks or living in bus stations.

His conclusion: PYA offers "the most critical program for the Central Precinct area. This group has been cooperative with the police and numerous governmental agencies have been involved in establishing [its] programs." The chief of police agreed: "I concur that although these people are not necessarily police oriented or sympathetic to strict law enforcement, they have in the past been very effective in keeping the peace in potential conflicts in the parks during the summer months."<sup>10</sup>

PYA benefitted from partially associating itself in the summer of 1970 with Governor McCall's policy of diverting young people to the state-supported Vortex festival in Estacada during the simultaneous convocations of the American Legion and the People's Army Jamboree; although PYA assisted young people who remained in Portland, it also helped organize Vortex. The governor did not forget this cooperation: during PYA's funding campaign in the fall of 1971, he issued a statement that saluted the organization for providing "helpful contact with young people in the streets . . . during the precarious days of the American Legion Convention" and urged "total support and financial assistance" for PYA:

In offering life-saving programs to young people in trouble, Portland Youth Advocates has won the respect and admiration of all levels of government, of the general community, and of those they serve . . . The Portland Youth Advocates group has proved its overwhelming effectiveness . . . May I then, as Governor of Oregon, give my unqualified endorsement to the PYA Contact

Program. I know it works. I have seen it in action. It has brought honor to itself and to our state.<sup>11</sup>

The governor's statement was reported in the Oregonian two days later.

PYA received financial support during the period from the mayor's Summer 71 program, CSD, PMSC, CRAG, and HEW but did not obtain help from PSO (see Funding). After PYA's proposal to the Summer 71 program had been accepted with modifications by the Summer 71 committee, the mayor's executive assistant explained the committee's action to the mayor and evaluated PYA's leadership. "I don't know much about [PYA's] merits, but the Koinonia House people do not seem to be way out," the assistant thought, although "Margaret Hunt . . . [has] changed so much in the past ten years. . . ." PYA's program was unusual in that:

most of the other programs deal with the child in a home setting and of course this attracts both those kinds of kids and the transient or drop-out . . . In evaluating this proposal the committee tended to disagree with some of their programs and plans. For instance, we didn't think a public park, without sanitation and water, was a good place to billet people . . . They will initially receive [funds] with instructions that the money be used for legal, healthful programs.<sup>12</sup>

In the summer of 1971, the Multnomah County Board of County Commissioners hailed the fact that PYA was "actively and effectively dealing with the problems and life styles of Portland's alienated youth culture" and credited the organization's working relationships with the Women's Protective Division (WPD), MCJC, PMSC, etc. The board went on to urge "wholehearted" citizen support of PYA. During this period city Commissioner Neil Goldschmidt hailed PYA in an undated letter as a "constructive and enriching program" providing "highly innovative and readily accessible service to youth."<sup>13</sup>

According to PSU evaluators in August 1972, "The Runaway Program and Out Front House have had problems with being accepted by outside agencies which resulted in a low number of referrals. [PYA] has since taken a much stronger interest in public relations and now has very workable agreements with a majority of these agencies."<sup>14</sup>

#### COMPETENCE

In addition to its hotline (and summer outreach activities in 1972) CC continued to try to be a drop-in center where young people could receive certain services and gain access to sundry resources (see Chapter II). It sought to be an inviting, comfortable environment for those alienated or intimidated by conventional agencies. The program valued its rapport with young people as well as its working relationships with cooperating agencies. Its bulletin board was considered one of the most useful in the city, especially for exchange of rides and goods. Brown reported that providing temporary housing was

probably the most crucial thing the Contact Center does (crucial because no one else does it). Our crashing system is equipped to handle people who are traveling thru Portland and need somewhere to sleep for two or three nights, but who otherwise are self-sufficient - it's limited because we use private homes to crash people.

The Vanguard placed "crashing services" in its list of three PYA services in the summer of 1971. That same summer CC began Outpost Camp, a tent camp in Estacada for clients in transit.<sup>15</sup> Descriptions of PYA clients varied. In 1970 the Oregonian referred to them as "young, hip people". But to a high school journalist in 1971 they were the "youth community."<sup>16</sup>

In 1974 PYA estimated that in 1970 CC weekly received 600 calls and 350 visitors; 15% of the calls were categorized as crisis oriented. By the fall of 1971 CC was open weekdays from 9 a.m.-midnight, Saturdays from 6 p.m.-midnight, and Sundays from 3 p.m.-9 p.m. It claimed to weekly receive some 800 visitors and some 1000 phone calls. In addition, it daily drew some 40 requests for temporary housing but was only able to place between 15-20. In the winter of 1972 PYA admitted that there had been little statistical records kept of its services beyond telephone and visitor logs.

In May 1970 PYA announced a summer staff that, in addition to PCCM support, consisted of a graduate student in counseling, a graduate student in social work, six undergraduate students, two Conscientious Objectors doing alternate service, and seven PYA and former YM personnel whose credentials were not mentioned. By September CC staff consisted only of its director, a former seminarian with a few months experience as a counselor to disturbed children.

PYA employed volunteers with little training. There were specific orientation sessions for CC volunteers which described the tasks of the center and guidelines for file reference and telephone response. Meier thought that "most of the volunteers got a pretty good feel for it. I don't remember any problems." Criticisms of workers were voiced at PYA meetings, where play-acting, role playing, and discussion were additionally employed to remedy deficiencies. Approximately every three months, scenic retreats supplemented weekly meetings as training exercises for PYA staff and volunteers; at one such retreat, a social work professor led a rigorous weekend encounter session. In the summer of 1970 about



20 PYA workers enrolled in a First Aid class at the American Red Cross. Dubay felt that PYA workers operated as "something of a family" in an atmosphere of "good peer comraderie" and accountability; this enabled improvement of performance to be "almost a continual process" and supplemented training. In retrospect, Dubay believed the impact of training to be "in and of itself undoubtedly minimal."

PYA social work of the period had an informal quality. There was a good deal of crossover of CC, Runaway, Streetwork, Agora, and, in the summer of 1970, PACT personnel. In many instances PYA relied on the board members, such as psychology professor Jerry Guthrie; Guthrie helped train volunteers, accepted clients requiring further counseling, and was available for consultation with PYA personnel. Dubay affirmed that the PYA community in 1970 included Outside In, Centenary-Wilbur Church, Cadenza House, and "a number of different places who shared our concerns." In addition, working agreements were initiated that year with GPCC, Legal Aid, American Red Cross, Multnomah County Welfare Department, Multnomah and Clackamas Juvenile Courts, Portland Switchboard, Portland Draft Counseling and Education Center, and some private psychologists and psychiatrists. By 1971 PYA had added the Alcoholic Counseling and Recovery Program, the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission, the state's Mental Health Division (OMHD), and the city's Park Bureau (PkB) and WPD to that list.

"I think that, for a group of para-professionals, we did a pretty damn good job," Meier maintained. "We definitely weren't a crew of professionals but then I don't think that the professionals could have touched it . . . not for the kind of money we were doing it for and also

we needed to have people that were pretty much real close to the street themselves doing it." "I am impressed even some 10 years later," confirmed Dubay, "by the competence of the staff in terms of the energies, the intellectual capacities, and the sensitivity of a lot of the staff. Cal Scott, Margaret Hunt, Lee Meier, and Cron stand out in my mind and I'm sure there were many others whose contributions were really outstanding in terms of community organization." Thompson remembered that, although PYA workers had a tendency to accept the bias of the client, they were realistic, reliable, and responsible in their dealings with MCJC: "Their performance as a staff was satisfactory . . . I can't fault them on this." PYA felt in 1972 that it had created an environment that "encourages . . . juveniles to make their own decisions and take responsibility for them"; this was seen as the organization's "most unique quality."<sup>17</sup>

#### PLANNING

PYA benefitted from surveys of Portland young adults undertaken by PCCM in 1970. The report of the Community Involvement Committee divided the PSU student population into three groups: the silent majority - acceptance of the mainstream, the seekers - dissatisfied with the mainstream but unaffiliated with the left, and the hip community - political and cultural left. The Young Adult Environmental Study, in which PYA participated, was an urban probe by a group which was housed together for three days; it visited youth scenes such as campuses, churches, bars, depots, coffeehouses, boutiques, and parks in an effort to survey the lifestyles, attitudes, economics, religions, and institutional

requirements of Portland young adults. PYA concluded from the study that young adults do not strongly identify with traditional youth organizations and prefer small peer groups.

There is evidence of increasing traffic during CC's first year. In March 1971 Margaret Hunt requested additional conference and counseling rooms for PYA, some of which were presumably intended for CC. PYA reported that CC phone and drop-in traffic nearly doubled between 1970-71.

PYA contemplated many new programs and components during this period. It established Open Meadow, Out Front House, and a Group Home (see Chapter I) but was unable to set up a teenage psychiatric unit, a crafts center, and a youth hostel. Brown lamented that:

The Contact Center, as well as other agencies in town, has been exploring the possibilities of setting up a youth hostel for over a year now, but so far the financial and legal problems have been insurmountable.<sup>18</sup>

It began Outpost Camp as a tent camp in the summer of 1971 but could not transform it into a colony of temporary housing as hoped.

Thompson recalled that PYA told him about a few new programs they were trying to implement; but in each of these instances, planning was apparently undertaken independent of what Thompson called "the other side":

It was a weakness from my perspective, yes, . . . that somebody from the Court or the police (or somebody who was familiar with the juvenile court process as an attorney would have been helpful too) . . . was not directly involved in any of the planning.

In addition, Thompson felt that PYA was hesitant about formalizing its connections with government services. PYA was:

opposed to developing a structure that would provide a basis for ongoing local or Federal funding . . . and this may have been a weakness that led to their demise. This was probably due partially to the individuals that were involved and the general philosophy. They wanted to make it as simple and uncomplicated a system as they could; this reflected their perspective in trying to deal with young people in a direct and open and straightforward manner. They didn't want to be tied into a network of rules and regulations.

According to Dubay, PYA was not at the outset involved in "a good deal of longterm planning . . . Up until the summer of 1970, our efforts were at establishing ourselves." In the fall of 1970 an Oregonian reporter quipped to Lee Meier that he was dwelling on the past summer and should talk about the future. In the spring of 1972, PYA's co-directors urged the board to formulate long-range objectives for the organization through a subcommittee structure. Jones warned that:

History shows that few of the many organizations existing at any one time survive, since most fail to keep their objectives, policies, and programs in tune with the changing environment. From the standpoint of business, these environmental factors include such critical factors as changes in technology, new and different societal needs, new philosophys [sic] of counseling and communications, varying political and economic conditions. A board made up largely of people outside the internal staff of the agency is in an excellent position to view these factors; often better than the management team itself.<sup>19</sup>

## CHAPTER IV

OCTOBER 1972-JUNE 1975

As sources for this chapter, interviews were recorded with John Clark, Cam Groner, and Ed Crawford. Unless otherwise indicated, attributions to these respondents refer to these interviews. The author served as PYA's community relations director in the last five months of the period; his significant recollections are attributed.

### FUNDING

PYA's major public funding sources during this period included CRAG, the Multnomah County Human Services Department, CSD, HEW, the Portland School District (PSD), the Oregon Arts Commission, city CETA offices (P-CETA), the Multnomah-Washington CETA Consortium (MW-CETA), and HRB. Major private funding sources were OCRI, the National Youth Alternatives Project (NYAP), Deluxe Check, the Collins Foundation, Milne Construction, the Meyer Foundation, and those specifically contributing to Open Meadow - the United States National Bank, the First National Bank, Tektronix, the Templeton Foundation, the Jackson Foundation, Pacific Power and Light, the Millicent Foundation, the Johnson Foundation, and Omark Industries.

OCRI funds were forwarded to PYA beginning May 1972. After providing some \$24,000 for refurbishing the old Elks Temple, the OCRI grant annually allowed about \$30,000 for the building's rent and utilities

and \$10,000 for salaries. From May 1972 through May 1974, the salary allotment was paid solely to Don Cron who, in addition to being PYA assistant - then executive - director, acted as OCRI's supervisor; from June 1974 the allotment was split among certain PYA administrators and coordinators. By December 1974, OCRI had furnished some \$138,000; in April 1975 PYA estimated that the grant would be exhausted by June.

In the winter of 1973 the Summer 70s program was transferred from the mayor's office to HRB. PYA received Summer 70s grants in both 1973 and 1974. PYA's ledger shows the receipt of \$2700 from the city for summer activities in 1973; in 1974 it received \$8800 - \$3800 for CC and \$5000 for Family Circus. In the spring of 1974 PYA unsuccessfully applied to the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) for \$200,000 to fund CC's "youth advocacy" services for FY 1975.<sup>1</sup> In October 1974, NYAP awarded PYA an annual grant of some \$9400 to hire a youth alcohol counselor at CC.

During this period, PYA sublet upper floor spaces to Portland Dance Theater on a monthly basis, Dinky Recording on a commission basis, and community organizations on a nightly basis. In 1974 and 1975, Family Circus staged a Performing Arts Marathon; admission was charged and proceeds shared by Family Circus and Arbucke Flat. In the fall of 1973, Family Circus received a \$1000 grant from the Oregon Arts Commission. HEW discontinued and PSD began Open Meadow funding in 1973. CRAG terminated support for the Runaway Program in October 1973; the Out Front House component was revived in the winter of 1974 with Multnomah County Human Services Department and CSD funding.

Between 1972-74, the City-County Office of Justice, OYDS, and HRB

met, among others, with PACT, St. John's Neighborhood Association, Model Cities, the National Council of Jewish Women, and PYA to plan the initial stages of a youth diversion system that came to call for three eastside day centers, a westside day center, and a downtown night center. Largely through expected HEW funding from June 1973-June 1976, the downtown center would be incorporated into the system October 1974 and receive \$90,000 over a two-year period. In the spring of 1973, PSO was awarded \$225,000 by HEW, which, with funds from a 1972 HEW grant, allowed OYDS to establish youth service centers (YSC) in the southeast and north in FY 1974. In May 1974 City Council authorized a PSO renewal request of the 1973 HEW grant that designated PYA as the intended sponsor of the downtown night center; HEW granted \$190,000 the following month. But in the fall of 1974, HRB informed PYA that funding intended for them would instead continue the recently-begun day center in the southwest. PYA appealed this decision to PSO's Citizen Budget Task Force and the City Council in the winter and spring of 1975 (see Community Relations). In May the council directed HRB to grant PYA \$25,000 for rent and utilities through June 1976 and, in the interim, to explore guidelines with PYA regarding its participation in city youth service.

In the spring of 1974 PYA received MW-CETA support for one position for six weeks at about \$400 per month. In the winter of 1975, Bob Williams applied for a P-CETA grant of six positions at between \$400-700 per month for six months; in January HRB granted PYA a P-CETA contract of some \$21,000 for these positions. In the spring Williams charted a fundraising campaign for FY 1976 that focused on foundations and businesses. Concurrent with its HRB contract for rent and utilities,

PYA obtained P-CETA contracts for some \$15,000, some \$13,000, and some \$3000 for FY 1976.

Specific efforts by CC to raise money from private businesses and foundations were largely unsuccessful. At the close of the period, however, CC filed a successful application for MW-CETA support for five Public Service Employment Program (PSE) positions in FY 1976.

After Cron's departure in the spring of 1974, his successor, Jerry Guthrie, declined all but \$100 of his monthly salary; the remainder was divided among certain PYA administrators and coordinators. PYA's Summer 73 and 74 grants specifically included salaries for CC coordinators. MW-CETA funds awarded in March 1974 provided a salary for CC's foster home developer. P-CETA funds awarded in January 1975 enabled the hiring of a community relations director and janitor for PYA, a CC volunteer coordinator, and a staff member each for Open Meadow, Arbuckle Flat, and Family Circus. CC payroll requirements at the end of the period included a program coordinator, a volunteer coordinator, and an alcohol counselor.

#### ORGANIZATION

PYA's coffee house program, Arbuckle Flat, was begun in December 1972. From the outset, CC used the cafe for outreach. CC spokesman Robin Will reported in 1972 that 16 counselors were to be deployed in Arbuckle to provide low-key advice to those who wanted it. Three years later, CC was still using Arbuckle for outreach and counseling; Groner remembered Arbuckle and CC as "an integrated concept of social service."

The Group Home was discontinued in January 1973. Two months later the Family Circus became PYA's resident theater company. PYA terminated



its Runaway Program in October 1973 after CRAG ended funding; runaway services were thereafter assumed by CC. Out Front House was revived under CC direction in January 1974, becoming a separate PYA program in the spring. A graphics program, Emptyspace Productions, ran from spring through summer in 1974. During this period PYA began to assess its programs a contribution of between five to ten percent of their receipts for the growing costs of organizational administration; CC did not begin to contribute, however, until 1977.

After Terry Jones' departure in November 1972, the staff recommended that Don Cron be named acting executive director of PYA and be reviewed for permanent status after three months; the board agreed, ratifying Cron as executive director in March 1973. But Cron soon became annoyed at his staff for resisting leadership. In a memo to the board that fall he complained that PYA was:

a confusing consensus-oriented organization with no clear lines of decision-making power or responsibility . . . The job of Executive Director is not one which now holds an authority of providing direction. The Executive Director is at best a politician moving the program toward goals through coercion. It is difficult sometimes to ascertain whether we are trying to perform a service or create a model government.

He additionally faulted the staff for disdaining traditional credentials. To remedy the situation, Cron called for "stronger more forceful influence by the Board", the creation of an executive staff, and a strengthened directorship. According to Groner, most PYA staff members felt that, far from strengthening the directorship, the organization should divide Cron's salary and move towards collective leadership. After the staff pressed the issue in the spring of 1974, Cron resigned on account of personal reasons and the structural deficiencies he had

previously deplored; in a wry parting shot at his lieutenants he gibed that "the directors of the programs are more than capable of maintaining the operations while a search is conducted by the board" for a new executive director.<sup>2</sup>

Cron was replaced by Jerry Guthrie, who served one-fifth time as executive director; by the fall Guthrie was aided by two administrative assistants, Linda Guthrie and Bob Williams. After Cron's departure, the program directors, now called "coordinators", met with the director weekly; PYA policy was enacted at these meetings through consensus. Complaints about CC performance were sometimes aired at these meetings. According to Clark, PYA organization seemed "fairly well established and worked relatively well" and meetings were "fairly productive." J. Guthrie was "cognizant of what was going on with the organization and helpful in solving problems."

By February 1975, CC comprised a program coordinator, an alcohol counselor, a volunteer coordinator, some half dozen volunteer counselors, and some two dozen volunteer hotline workers/receptionists. Two-hour meetings were held weekly; the agenda was written but open. The meetings were chaired on a rotating basis and, like PYA's, strove for consensus. According to Groner, this involved problems such as "weak facilitators" and the system of consensus which, on sensitive issues, became "a long, slow, and angry process that didn't always" resolve issues. Unresolved issues were referred to PYA meetings; with those exceptions Groner believed CC meetings successfully dispatched business. Clark confirmed that CC appeared to be run on a democratic basis.

In conformity with PYA policy, Groner sought to "mold consensus"

as a style of leadership. After a while, however, he became "disillusioned with a system that demanded consensus from people who were there 40 hours a week and people who were there four hours a week and felt that that was unworkable." The coordinator scheduled conferences with volunteers who were performing poorly. In retrospect, however, he felt that he was "too hippie liberal" at these conferences, "assuming they would change just by talking to them nicely"; in fact, Groner remembered, being a "nice guy" didn't always work with these volunteers. Crawford described CC leadership in this period as "very creative; we were very happy with the image that we got."

Shortly before being appointed CC director in 1973, Mike Holmes said of PYA: "I feel very important . . . I feel empty working in any other place. There's warmth and compassion here."<sup>3</sup> Groner rated CC morale during his tenure as "generally quite high". An esprit de corps was maintained at gatherings at PC&S Tavern after weekly meetings. Crawford believed that there was "nothing intrinsic" in CC jobs to "uplift" workers; clients came from a "difficult subculture" and wages were low for staff members. "It was a burnout job," Groner admitted, but most people, he pointed out, only worked at it from four to eight hours a week; "the comraderie was high because it was in a sense sort of casual, recreational employment for most people." There was also:

a certain feeling that we were at the vanguard of social services, that we were younger, hipper, more on the forefront of what was doing kids good and that street people were . . . an unmet social need . . . and we were really doing something that no other agency was addressing.

According to Groner, CC was always short of volunteers. Recruitment was by radio, by poster, and by visits to local colleges. Groner

noticed that frequent social gatherings - such as the PC&S sessions, parties, and camping trips - served to integrate most volunteers. "The social interaction," Groner recalled, "was extremely important and kept people around a lot when the rewards of the work were not the major thing that was making them stay there." Volunteer integration improved with the addition of a volunteer coordinator in February 1975. Between five and ten percent of the volunteers left after a month or two.

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS

PYA's move to the old Elks Temple was covered by both dailies. "Can this really be the Contact Center?" wondered the Journal. "This building with the floor space of a football field and the appointments of the Uptown Ballroom?" "The counseling center . . . has made a big move up," admitted the Oregonian.<sup>4</sup> An Oregon Law Enforcement Council (OLEC) evaluator, rating the Runaway Program in April 1973, remarked that "The relocation . . . from the basement of the Koinonia House at Portland State University to its present location has provided new interest as well as a new outlook on the part of the staff and provides facilities and adequate space which are so badly needed."<sup>5</sup> An art gallery, Nine Dragons, featuring the works of local artists, was maintained by PYA adjacent to Arbuckle Flat from the winter through the summer of 1973.

As part of an article on community volunteers in November 1972, the Oregonian featured a quarter page photograph of CC volunteer Shiza Lisbakken; the caption touted PYA's "multi-services", including counseling, recreational activities, folk music, and poetry readings. The Runaway Program's foster home procurement service, manned by Suzanne

Hoff, was praised by both the Sunday Oregonian and the Oregon Times in the spring of 1973. The Times exulted that "The energetic Ms. Hoff is so successful in fact (she uses every technique from Nickel Ads to leaf-letting) that CSD now regularly refers children to her to place.

'Nobody wants to work with somebody so they give them to the Contact Center,'" Hoff reported.<sup>6</sup>

The Oregonian claimed in September 1973 that CC "mans Portland's largest Hotline." But Cron reminded them of PYA's sparse funds: "What exists here is a poor family with a castle but nothing to eat."<sup>7</sup> In October PYA staged a ten-day festival entitled "A Second Look," which featured theater, music, films, and puppet shows; musicians included Dr. Corn's Bluegrass Remedy and the Muddy Bottom Boys and speakers included Commissioner Mildred Schwabb. That same fall KINK-FM began broadcasting live concerts from Arbuckle Flat every other Thursday from 11 p.m.-12:30 a.m. In November the Family Circus initiated a Stage Coaching School that boasted the talents of Ric Young and Izetta and Richard Nesbitt. The Performing Arts Marathon of 1974 was announced in the Oregonian; the one in 1975 by a quarter page cover photo in the Southwest Edition of the Valley Times.

In the spring of 1974 PYA sponsored a four-part film festival on human potential psychology assembled by Psychomedia of Berkeley, California. That same spring PYA distributed a twenty-page pictorial printed booklet describing its history, programs, and facilities; the printer produced it gratis. In August CC, Northwest Hotline, and Northeast Hotline, in conjunction with the Sunnyside Methodist Church, hosted the third annual conference of the Western Regional Association

of Hotlines; Crawford recalled it as a time of particular cooperation between Friendly House and CC. In its evaluation, the Summer 74 Evaluation Subcommittee found PYA's contribution worthwhile and recommended funding in 1975. In the spring of 1975 John Clark made a concerted effort to attract influential new board members and recruited Pauline Anderson and Buzz Willits; Willits was an active Democrat and friend of the mayor's, Anderson was a former middle school teacher and wife of the Port director.

Relations with OCRI during the period were excellent. In 1973 OCRI noted that PYA had established a regional reputation for dependably lodging clients. In 1974 the foundation credited Cron as earnest and efficient.

In January 1973 Forest Grove police raided the Group Home and found a tiny amount of marijuana seed. CSD faulted the home and withdrew its six youngsters. The following week Group Home supervisors Robin and Christine Will closed the facility pending the judicial outcome. In an angry letter to CSD, the Wills accused the Forest Grove police of dishonesty and "absolute intolerance to the type of work we do" and CSD of exploitation of foster parents in general and disloyalty to the Wills in particular. In conclusion they argued that "competent foster parents" be "salaried for their work" and "supported by adequate relief staff."<sup>8</sup>

OYDS wrote PYA's Margaret Hunt in May 1973 explaining that: "At this time City Council members are interested in knowing if your agency will work with the City in the development of the Youth Services System and whether you would meet with us to discuss the potential for and

specifics of a working agreement and/or contract with your agency."

Hunt replied affirmatively the following week. In July OYDS sent a consultant, Rich Straub, to evaluate PYA for participation in the youth service system. After interviewing Cron, Straub concluded:

The Hot Line Drop-in Center . . . is a resource and referral point for all types of problems . . . Arbuckle Flat . . . offers food, non-alcoholic drink, and the promotion of good music . . . my overall impressions were good.

Straub remarked some problems as well: PYA had little communication with PB, the Runaway Program was "controversial," and Cron told him that staff turnover was high and its attitude towards government diffident. According to Straub, Cron further explained that "a lot of the people they employ fall prey to counter culture philosophy -- that being fuck the system, fuck the bureaucrats type of attitude -- which filters down to inability to keep records and statistics and balking about writing contracts, reports, etc."<sup>9</sup>

In May 1974 PSO designated PYA as a participating agency in its youth service grant renewal to HEW. But in August Congress directed HEW to terminate certain OYD programs; consequently HEW was obliged to cancel further funding to PSO after June 1975 - a year earlier than expected. In October HRB dropped PYA from its funding schedule; its official reason was that, in lieu of Federal contraction, City Council would prefer to limit the youth service system to those centers which already had received Federal support through HRB.

Yet because HRB did not elect to refer the problem to City Council - opting instead to deschedule PYA arbitrarily - PYA suspected that between May and October, the bureau may have become disillusioned with

the organization. A review of the period in fact discovers certain events that may have alienated HRB: 1) As mentioned, Don Cron resigned in the spring of 1974 and was replaced by Jerry Guthrie, a PSU psychology professor who served as PYA director in his spare time and collected a nominal salary. HRB may have been bothered by the fact that PYA no longer had a fulltime paid executive director. (Another former contact, Margaret Hunt, had left PYA in September 1973.) 2) In August 1974 PYA discovered a man's bone fragments in the furnace of its headquarters and summoned the police; police later charged two men with murdering the victim. One of the perpetrators was a contractee of a Seattle audio firm which in turn was a contractee of Dinky Recording, who subleased a studio from PYA. Neither man was employed by PYA. Nevertheless the incident may have alarmed HRB, giving the impression that PYA was mismanaging the building. 3) As mentioned, PYA's relations with PB had been strained in its first year but nearly repaired by 1972. During this period some downtown patrolmen began diverting youth to CC; this modest cooperation was possibly due to CC's larger quarters and growing track record. "Among the police it was a scroungy hippie den where runaways were," explained Groner,

but they also realized it was a useful referral source. The official police line tended to be more hard than the cops on the beat, who realized they could bring kids into us and not have to throw them in jail; . . . we could help them rather than put them through the juvenile justice system or the adult criminal system.

The official line had apparently again become negative.<sup>10</sup> In conversations with HRB in the fall of 1974 Groner recalled that HRB claimed that



the police didn't think much of us. And we'd say 'But the cops on the beat love us, they come in all the time.' And they'd say, 'Well, Captain Walker, blah-blah, blah-blah, they don't like you downtown.' And it was never more specific than that.

A review of PSO youth service grant applications reveals that police cooperation was considered a vital part of the city's youth service system. Communication with PB was apparently the first subject Rich Straub discussed with Don Cron. Of the seven positions within YSD in 1975, one was reserved for a police officer. In an interview with the Vanguard in February 1975, Ed Frankel, HRB service manager, spoke to the suitability of CC as a likely center within his system. Beyond funding difficulties, he reduced the possibility for two reasons:

Frankel states that, to his knowledge, Portland Youth Advocates is not involved in youth diversion which he defines as simply a police report on diversion. The Contact Center's image is somewhat tainted, due to their efforts in youth drug control and runaway counseling, he adds.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the fall of 1974, PYA argued that, despite HEW's premature termination of funds, the city should operationalize its original proposals to HEW because they guaranteed fulltime citywide youth service. Rebuffed by both HRB and PSO, PYA appealed its descheduling to PSO's Citizen Budget Task Force, a citizen's committee annually selected by the Public Safety commissioner to review the office's budget. In March 1975 the Task Force not only recommended that PYA be incorporated into the city's youth service system but be used as a model by which to compare the existing centers; moreover these dramatic suggestions were prominently featured in Willamette Week.

A month later PYA appealed to City Council to act on the Task Force's report. During the interim the author supervised a promotion

campaign and legal offensive. PSA's advertising PYA services were aired gratis on several AM and FM radio stations. In addition, a KGW radio program, "Coming Up for Air," interviewed both Public Safety Commissioner Charles Jordan's executive assistant, David Kish, and PYA personnel on their own initiative; on that program, Kish pointed out that considerable numbers of youth in downtown and Northwest Portland - CC's environs - were "transient kids who in some cases do not even come from the City of Portland and shouldn't receive services from City of Portland dollars."<sup>12</sup> Neighborhood endorsements were garnered from the Northwest District Association, Friendly House, Lincoln High School, the Couch Metropolitan Learning Center, and PCCM; these letters were added to endorsements by the University of Oregon Health Sciences Center's (UOHSC)'s Psychiatry Department to form an endorsement catalog. Cooperation with the Metropolitan Youth Commission was augmented to a close working relationship.

PYA's legal response to descheduling was referred to attorney Charles Williamson of Kell, Alterman, Runstein, and Thomas, who agreed to pursue the case for a nominal rate. In a demand letter to Commissioner Jordan, Williamson argued that, by employing PYA's reputation in soliciting funds from HEW and designating PYA as a recipient of some of those funds, the city was obligated to forward those funds to PYA after being awarded them. To dramatize this legal position, PYA staged a press conference at its headquarters and received coverage from KPTV, KOIN-TV, the Journal, the Vanguard, and the Scribe; the Scribe featured the story on its cover, which depicted a huge ape marked "Bureau of Human Resources" devouring the old Elks building. Letters subsequently

appeared in both dailies. The issue was also later mentioned by Dick Klinger in his opening introduction on the KGW-TV talk show, "Open Line."

Prior to the annual City Council budget hearings, the executive assistants of each commissioner meet to review the budget. At the hearings on the HRB budget that spring, PYA was permitted to make its case for incorporation into the youth service system and \$52,000 funding for FY 1976. Impressed by the arguments in the Task Force report, Commissioner Connie McCready's assistant supported the PYA request; the proposal was defeated, however, 4-1. But by the time of the City Council hearings, the author recalls that Commissioner Mildred Schwabb had joined McCready and Mayor Neil Goldschmidt was telling the council that the debate on PYA funding would be "very interesting." On April 29 PYA requested a "compromise" funding package of \$25,000 from the General Fund and \$15,000 in P-CETA monies; the CETA request passed unanimously at that time but the General Fund bid was defeated 2-2, with Mayor Goldschmidt and Commissioner Jordan dissenting and Commissioner Frank Ivancie absent. On the afternoon of May 5, however, there was a consensus to fund PYA; Commissioner Schwabb's motion to exchange a Burnside Neighborhood Association project for PYA support passed 4-1, with Commissioner McCready dissenting. Yet the council chose not to incorporate PYA into the city's youth service system; it merely assigned PYA to PSO as an independent youth program and directed Commissioner Jordan to negotiate guidelines with the organization. So dramatically quixotic had PYA's cause become that even this partial victory was heralded by four newspapers: page one in the Vanguard and Southwest

Edition of the Valley Times, page 18 in the Oregonian, and page seven in the Scribe. The Scribe again depicted its ape, now scratching its head dumfoundedly as dollar bills invaded the building; its headline ran, "David and Goliath Dept.: Contact Center rides again!"

Throughout the struggle for the restoration of municipal funding, PYA and CC worked very closely. In the summer and fall of 1974, J. Guthrie, L. Guthrie, Groner, and Williams negotiated with Ed Frankel and Judy Phelan of HRB; in the spring of 1975 the author rounded out this bargaining team. As CC coordinator, Groner made important contributions to PYA's negotiating effort: his statistical competence was employed when various municipal offices required quantitative proof of CC's performance and his diplomacy was used when PYA, despite its indignation, felt obliged to bargain affably. "My impression was," he told the author,

that when we needed to impress them with our sincerity, I was brought in . . . when we needed to impress them with our tenacity . . . you were brought in. . . . As flip as it sounds, it was a very sound strategy.

#### COMPETENCE

In an interview with the Oregonian in 1972, Robin Will explained that CC counselors in Arbuckle Flat were "not out to shrink your head or anything"; according to the reporter, CC rather concentrated on "arranging short term emergency housing" and "referring people with problems to agencies with solutions." A letter to the Oregonian in 1975 cited CC as "a place to stop off (crash) overnight, a place to obtain counseling, a place for young people to go when, for many of

them, there is no alternative but the street."<sup>13</sup> In its booklet in 1974, PYA stated that CC "in conjunction with information and referral, also offers in-depth crisis counseling . . . longer term counseling . . . family and individual counseling on a limited basis."<sup>14</sup> Groner remembered CC as 1) a destination and referral center for street people and transients, 2) a counseling and crisis center for more rooted people with occasional problems, 3) a counseling service for young alcoholics and their families and 4) a general social service agency for the downtown-Northwest area "where not a lot of services are available."

CC boasted in the spring of 1973 that its five-volume resource files listed nearly every service in metropolitan Portland, generally with a description and the inclusion of a personal contact; by 1975 it contained 950 sources. The author recalls a national ride board in the spring of 1975; in addition a locked storage room was available to travelers. To encourage the use of CC as a drop-in center, its main room was outfitted with both a ping pong and pool table. These were considered important additions; OCRI had mentioned "various activity items such as pool tables" in its action memorandum.<sup>15</sup> From the fall of 1973 through the spring of 1974, CC temporarily assumed two components of the terminated Runaway Program: Out Front House and the foster home development service. According to the PYA booklet, while at CC the foster home developer worked cooperatively with CSD in locating homes for homeless youths and guiding foster parents. In January 1974 CC began operating an employment counseling service three days a week that declined later in the period. According to Groner, during this period CC's temporary housing service became hampered by the fact that it was

no longer fashionable for residents to offer quarters to young travelers; the slack was assumed by two local hostels - Portland Youth Hostel and Shiloh House, a Christian hospice. CC operated a mobile crisis service from midnight to 9 a.m. on Friday and Saturday nights during the fall of 1974; the service consisted of telephone counseling by counselors with automobiles. From that same fall CC ran a drug analysis service. Clients wishing to ascertain a substance's chemistry were encouraged to bring it to CC; CC would forward the substance to Whitebird in Eugene who would arrange to have it analyzed gratis. CC's contribution to the Summer 73 program included the deployment of a dozen outreach workers who monitored the youth community and initiated various projects in response to what they learned was needed; its participation in the Summer 74 program included manning two downtown mobile information carts that contained leaflets about city services and presenting ten musical workshops.

According to the PYA booklet, PYA made an effort in this period to enlarge its client focus. In the previous period, it recounted:

. . . the quality of service was becoming adversely affected by the predominant feeling that a person needed to have some sort of 'problem' to come into the Contact Center . . . Portland Youth Advocates had become Portland Troubled Youth Advocates . . . As a result of this condition, our programming has been expanded and revised. A grant came from a local foundation to design a facility to serve the needs of all youth in the city of Portland, not jsut the ones with problems.

The Oregonian reported in the summer of 1973 that CC mostly counseled street people as well as referrals from UOHSC and police officers; a week later a PYA coordinator told the daily that PYA services were "for a variety of people and not just street people."<sup>16</sup> As of January 1975,

20% of CC's clients were over 30.

CC's popularity seems to have declined somewhat during this period. In the spring of 1973 OLEC evaluators remarked that weekly calls had dropped to between about 550-850 from 1400 in 1971. In its booklet PYA estimated weekly calls at about 140. In July 1974 CC weekly counted some 250 calls and 20 visitors; in January 1975 some 200 calls and 250 visitors. In addition, Groner guessed that CC was nightly welcoming up to 20 people needing quarters in 1975 and almost always successfully placing them. Hours were revised during the period to 11 a.m.-11 p.m. Monday-Thursday, 11 a.m.-midnight, Friday, and 6 p.m.-midnight on the weekend.

PYA staff members described themselves as paraprofessional in the summer of 1973. Groner recalled the following CC staff credentials as of the spring of 1975: Cam Groner, program coordinator, M.A.T.; Bill Allured, youth alcohol counselor, M.A. in psychology; and Joe Bernard, volunteer coordinator, M.A. in psychology. During this period, staff members and volunteer counselors maintained their skills through consultation. According to the booklet, counselors received consultant training from staff members of UOHSC, PSU Social Work School and Psychology Department, OMHD's Alcohol and Drug Treatment Program, Lutheran Family Services, and the Carl Morrison Center. During Groner's tenure as coordinator, weekly training was conducted by Sharon Rogers, a consulting social worker; it consisted of theory and practice sessions, critique of practice sessions, and review of current cases. Groner believed that "most of us were pretty good when we got" to CC but weekly training honed skills.

In its booklet PYA assured readers that

there are trained and experienced paraprofessional counselors within the Counseling Center who supplement the volunteers staffing the hotline . . . most with a minimum of two years experience.<sup>17</sup>

During Groner's tenure as coordinator, there were no specific educational requirements for hotline workers/receptionists and counselors. For hotline workers/receptionists, CC sought those who were reliable, level-headed, and had listening skills; for counselors, additional criteria included "more refined counseling skills, more paraphrasing skills, more interaction skills." Groner recalled the following credentials of CC's volunteer counselors: Marge Hanson, M.A. in psychology; Tom Talbot, M.A. in psychology; Eileen Burns, no degree. Selection of counselors was made by existing counselors; selection of hotline workers/receptionists was made by their training instructor. "It tended to be a self-selection process," said Groner. "If you didn't fit into the operational matrix that we established, you tended not to stick around extremely long. We did have some problems with some people but not very often." Training of volunteers in 1975 consisted of five instructional sessions on community resources, referral procedures, listening techniques, counseling skills, and crisis response; only those recruits who attended all five sessions were accepted.

Just before becoming CC director, Mike Holmes told the Oregonian that "We don't deal with people on a long-term basis. When the case gets 'heavy', it is referred to those agencies in the area most capable of handling the problem." In the PYA booklet CC confessed "no hesitation" in referring clients requiring "more intensive care or a longer term



arrangement than our counselors are required to offer."<sup>18</sup> Groner confirmed that during this period some clients were referred to UOHSC Crisis Unit, Dammasch State Hospital, and John Priollaund, CC's adjunct psychologist at an OMHD clinic for drug abusers.

Although CC did not compile written self-evaluations during Groner's tenure as coordinator, CC workers consistently engaged in self-criticism at weekly meetings. The primary objective of CC's weekend retreat in Otis in February 1975 was to discuss worker interaction and cohesion.

Clark generally visited CC before attending weekly or monthly PYA meetings; he thought that "with what they were trying to accomplish," the program was "doing a reasonably good job." Crawford cautioned that "there are no clear guidelines on human relationships" but, based on several visits, he thought CC related "fairly well to their clientele." During the struggle in 1975 for city funding, journalists evaluated CC positively. PYA "now includes five programs which have proven their importance," opined the Scribe in 1975. "Its members are so actively apparent in our daily lives that it is easy to take them for granted." "It's a welcome place for young people," agreed a Vanguard columnist, "whether for theater, music, counseling, or referrals."<sup>19</sup>

#### PLANNING

As noted, this was an active period for PYA. The Arbuckle Flat coffee house was begun in December 1972. The Family Circus was invited to become the organization's resident theater company in March 1973; it began a Stage Coaching School seven months later. The Nine Dragons art

gallery was initiated in the winter of 1973, Emptyspace Productions in the spring of 1974. The commission arrangement with Dinky Recording that same spring aimed to involve PYA in the lucrative recording business.

In March 1973 Valerie Brown vainly sought Hub-CAP funding for a Media Resource Center program that would publish books and pamphlets on Portland youth; she projected that the center would require an offset press, a pressman, a coordinator, and a secretary. In June 1975 the author proposed the establishment of a publishing program called Contact Books that would publish books on youth advocacy. The plan was tabled for study.

From the fall of 1972 through the spring of 1974, PYA anticipated incorporation into the city's youth service system. In May 1973 Margaret Hunt concluded that PYA's discussions with HRB

revealed that the Contact Center could be . . . a diversion center . . . for the northwest area . . . The environment coupled with the social services of the Center enable it to expand very easily and become a diversion center.

At that time PYA also composed a Youth Diversion Concept Paper that outlined a possible multi-program approach by the organization to the system, employing CC, Open Meadow, and the Runaway Program's foster home development component: clients diverted to PYA would be evaluated by CC and, as required, offered foster housing, employment guidance, enrollment in Open Meadow, or other kinds of counseling and referral. But HRB apparently preferred to include only CC.

Had HRB integrated CC, it was PYA's intention to adapt some of CC's services to fulfill its commitments to the system. CC believed in 1973 that

The structures existing at the Resource and Counseling Center are very nearly adequate to serve referrals of the nature that the Youth Diversion Program is interested in. A general strengthening of staff in some particular areas would be all that is required.

Groner confirmed that such adaptation could have been effected "without any problems: the structure would have changed cosmetically . . . but it wouldn't have seriously disrupted the way we operated." As it happened, events did not progress that far and, according to Groner, no adaptations were charted or undertaken. Yet the Youth Services Division (YSD) assumed plans were being mapped; in informing PYA of its descheduling in October 1974, Phelan thought "it would be irresponsible to request Portland Youth Advocates to continue planning and developmental work when funding is not available in the immediate future."<sup>20</sup>

In July 1973 Cron told Straub that PYA was considering establishing an employment counseling service. A survey was taken later that year that indicated client interest in such a service. By January 1974 employment counseling was being offered at CC. PYA's proposal to NIMH in the spring of 1974 called for a coordinated approach to youth advocacy by three CC components: counseling, foster home development, and Out Front House. In 1975 CC proposed a 24-hour Mobile Crisis Service that would employ a van connected by radio-telephone to CC and other key agencies; mobile counselors would continually be on-call to staff the van as critical calls were received. Funding requests to OMHD and the Multnomah County Mental Health Division (MCMHD) were unsuccessful.

## CHAPTER V

JULY 1975-JUNE 1976

As sources for this chapter, interviews were recorded with Dwayne McNannay, Paul Kaufman, Ed Carney, and Haven Baxter. Unless otherwise indicated, attributions to these respondents refer to these interviews. Relevant recollections by the author are attributed.

### FUNDING

Major public funding for PYA during this period was from HRB (\$25,000), P-CETA (\$15,000, \$3000, \$13,000, \$12,000), MW-CETA (\$28,000, \$21,000), NYAP, CSD and PSD. Principal private funding was from OCRI and those contributing to Open Meadow - Omark, Collins Foundation, Pacific Power & Light, Meyer Foundation, Jackson Foundation, Templeton Foundation, Oregon Community Foundation, Tektronix, and the United States National Bank. PYA was unable to secure major additional foundation support for its other programs. In September 1975 OCRI noted that PYA was getting city funding but still had \$4600 left from the OCRI grant; in January the foundation forwarded \$3000 to PYA, apparently its last transfer. PYA received \$2900 from HRB and \$1200 from PkB to contribute to the Summer 75 program; Arbuckle Flat, Family Circus, and CC presented free performances and recreational activities on Thursday evenings in Lair Hill Park.

The HRB contract fully subsidized rent and utilities at the old

Elks Temple. P-CETA contracts enabled CC to employ a program coordinator and a counselor throughout the period and a volunteer coordinator through 1975. MW-CETA contracts furnished CC with a resource aide and, from the fall, a volunteer coordinator and three hotline worker/receptionists. NYAP continued to provide the program with an alcohol counselor until May, when the grant was terminated by NYAP so that it could fund a statewide coalition (see Community Relations).

Before voting to grant PYA general funding in April 1975, the author recalls Commissioner Schwabb commenting that she would not approve an extension of this funding in 1976; Mayor Goldschmidt followed by saying that he didn't "have any problem" with a re-application. The PSO Citizen Budget Task Force, however, did not recommend continued funding of PYA in the winter of 1976 and PYA chose not to pursue the matter. PYA did obtain three P-CETA contracts for FY 1977 and an MW-CETA contract. PYA also attempted to gain funds for CC from three major grant sources. Consistent with its promise in 1974 to "continue to attempt to secure funds for a Center in the Downtown and Northwest areas", YSD wrote an application to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) in June 1976 for funds "to establish a centrally located facility operating during the hours of midnight to 9 a.m."; a request for \$1.8 million.<sup>1</sup> According to McNannay, he met with PYA's Cam Groner a couple of times regarding PYA's possible role as contractee of the downtown center. Unlike 1974, PYA was not mentioned in the application to LEAA, which was denied later that year. Additional major grant sources were HEW for a \$50,000 grant to treat runaway youth and MCMHD's Alcohol and Drug Program (MCMHD-AD) for a \$88,000 grant to treat alcoholic

youth. Both of these applications were filed directly by PYA but eventually were denied as well (see Organization, Community Relations, and Planning).

The first MW-CETA contract for the period had been negotiated with the Public Service Employment (PSE) program by Cam Groner in June 1975. The second was arranged with the Adult Manpower Program by Sol Shapiro in October; it involved seven positions, with four for CC, typically for six months at about \$580 per month. Although MCMHD-AD denied the youth alcohol grant, the Regional Alcohol Board forwarded CC \$1500 for further training in counseling alcoholics. The program held a rummage sale in June. CC workers failed in their solicitations of businesses; they did, however, procure donations of stationery and office supplies.

CC staff continued to include a program coordinator, a volunteer coordinator (now called a "training coordinator"), and an alcohol coordinator; in February 1976, however, a counselor, a resource aide, and three hotline workers were added to the staff at various times.

Financial pressures on PYA increased during the period when the furnace in the old Elks Temple broke; according to Kaufman, because the \$1000 repair estimate was considered beyond PYA's means, the system was not fixed and the building was cold for some months. In order to retain the old Elks Temple, PYA required general rather than specified funding. Kaufman stated, however, that efforts to locate such funding for FY 1977 were unsuccessful: "It was really a sad period . . . Everyone knew we needed money, nobody knew how to get it,"

## ORGANIZATION

PYA maintained its five programs during the period, retaining all but Out Front House in the old Elks Temple. The organization continued to have a Board of Directors; policy continued to be framed by the Coordinators council. Jerry Guthrie resigned as executive director in July 1975 and was replaced by Chip Mayhue. At the start of the period, PYA sought to employ persons who had "a commitment to working in a collective and cooperative manner, with shared decision making and a relatively non-authoritarian structure."<sup>2</sup>

With the assistance of CETA support, CC created a new staff position, resource aide, whose purpose was to update and expand the program's I&R files. In addition to staff, CC continued to have some half dozen volunteer counselors and some two dozen volunteer hotline worker/receptionists. Weekly meetings lasted some three hours and were chaired in turns. According to Kaufman, CC "functioned as a collective . . . Whatever came up, we would all hash it out. We would talk over everything. Everybody would have input into it and it had to be a collective decision. And that process took a very, very long time. But when a decision is made, everybody was happy." Such meetings, he thought, "pretty much" dispatched business.

Kaufman said that during this period, many CC workers came to feel that the program coordinator was increasingly bypassing the evolved collective process. According to the volunteer, within months of Shapiro's appointment:

he tried to make decisions independently, never told anyone about it. He was negotiating with CETA for positions and

never told anyone about it. Hired two people, never went through the process of a hiring committee or anything . . . Sol wanted to do everything himself . . .

CC itself had in October created a core group, replaceable every three months, to expedite daily decision-making. Shapiro's proposal for program restructuring, submitted in March, charted a modification rather than an eradication of participatory decision making; the following month the board remarked that "the decision making process in counseling resource was cumbersome and changes needed to be made."<sup>3</sup> It was acceptable for program coordinators to initiate contacts with funding sources.

From the winter CC workers complained to the Coordinators council about Shapiro's style and, after months of debate, his resignation was accepted by the board in April. Despite this conflict, Kaufman credited Shapiro with having been "very charismatic" and having had "a tremendous amount of energy . . . a lot of drive . . . a lot of good ideas. I believe he really had the Contact Center at heart, he wanted it to grow . . . The man was a real dynamo." After Shapiro's departure, his position was shared by Karla Zamiska and Christy Bauman; Zamiska supervised internal operations while Bauman represented the program in the community.

The application for the HEW grant for treatment of runaway youth was discussed collectively by CC workers in the winter and submitted by PYA to HEW in May. After Shapiro's departure in April, the former coordinator founded Harry's Mother, an Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon (EMO) youth program. On behalf of Harry's Mother, EMO also filed an application to HEW for treatment of runaway youth.



At the outset of the period, morale was excellent, according to Kaufman. During the conflict with the program coordinator, however, morale plummeted: "I think there were people who didn't want to take sides, didn't want to be involved with that kind of conflict. They were there to do a job and the political end of it . . . they didn't want to be bothered with. A lot of people left."

Volunteers were recruited by radio and television PSA spots and word of mouth. Recruits included students, housewives, and street people, among others. Volunteers continued, in Kaufman's words, to "weed themselves out"; if a volunteer wasn't confident at the desk or on the phone, he or she left the program.

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Despite the compromise negotiated with the city during the period (see below), Kaufman confirmed that CC's reputation continued to be adversely affected by having been descheduled from YSC funding:

As far as the Contact Center's reputation, most people thought of it as a hippie kind of outfit . . . That was really sad because we had a lot of excellent counselors and did a real fine job . . . City Hall didn't see us as a real viable, credible organization. Part of that with the city was functioning as a collective; a lot of big organizations want to deal with a figurehead, they don't want to deal with a collective process.

Nevertheless, CC continued to be used by the community. Patrolmen would bring what they called "space cases" to CC. Businesses would telephone CC for assistance in spiriting drugged or drunk customers off the premises. Schools would ask CC workers to talk with students about alcohol and drug abuse. CSD referred difficult clients to CC; MCMHD

referred those out of its jurisdiction. "I guess in a lot of respects," Kaufman concluded, "the Contact Center did have some credibility. But it only came about in a real pinch. It was like a stepchild, you know: the Contact Center was always there to help out if another agency needed it."

Visibility for PYA's contribution to Summer 75 was augmented by coverage in the Oregonian; the newspaper additionally heralded Family Circus' 1976 Performing Arts Marathon parade with a four-column photograph. That same spring the Marathon Committee published the Performing Arts Index, a paperback of over 100 pages that described individuals and groups contributing to performing arts in Portland. In the fall of 1975 nearly twenty "alternative" human service agencies throughout the state convened at Otis to launch the Oregon Coalition of Alternative Human Services. PYA joined enthusiastically, separately listing contacts for CC, Arbuckle Flat, Out Front House, Family Circus and PYA as a whole.

HRB began negotiating guidelines with PYA in the summer of 1975 regarding general funding for FY 1976. As directed by City Council, the bureau agreed to forward \$25,000 to PYA for rent and utilities within the fiscal year. PYA, for its part, agreed to provide "counseling services" at its downtown location and to furnish receipts for its rent and utility payments. In addition, HRB demanded - and PYA agreed - that PYA "not participate in the city's youth diversion program." What had begun as a vague request for guidelines by Council in the spring, then, became a turning point for PYA in the fall: its first formal relaxation - however temporarily meant - of its demand to be incorporated into the

city's YSC system.<sup>4</sup> With the denial of its application to LEAA in the spring of 1976, YSD seems to have discontinued its efforts to secure federal funding for a downtown YSC; from then on, PYA seems not to have pressed its claim to YSC funding. That same spring HRB proposed to fund a fifth YSC in the Outer Southeast through a contract with YMCA.

As mentioned, the proposal to incorporate PYA into the YSC system was submitted in the previous period; during this period, a de facto resolution of the problem was effected. Elements of this resolution included: 1) descheduling of PYA from renewable YSC status and funding, 2) facility funding for PYA during FY 1976, 3) specific exclusion of PYA from participation in the city's diversion program during FY 1976, 4) renewable CETA assistance and 5) YSD application to LEAA for funds for a downtown night center. The net effect of this resolution was to separate PYA from the YSC system with compensation, a policy framed primarily by the city from the summer of 1974 through the spring of 1976 and representing a consensus of YSD, HRB, PSO, PB, and City Council.

According to McNannay, candidates for YSC contracts were expected to have: 1) a significant constituency in their area, 2) the ability to responsibly handle six-figure budgets, 3) the ability to manage a social service program and 4) a history of citizen participation in their organization. In addition to these criteria, PB evaluations of the organization were seriously weighed:

Youth service centers were so much a part of the police network that if you go way back, the original purpose . . . for which they were funded was directly related to the police . . . So the police were a very integral part of that whole thing.

Carney recalled that differences between PB and PYA occurred over PYA's treatment of runaway youth in its early years:

Prior to that there were established organizations that everyone knew pretty well, knew how they operated, and it was very - how would you say? - comfortable. During this period of time, there were several different organizations that came up, were certainly trying to do a good job, but their viewpoint and method of accomplishing it was somewhat different. It made it a little more difficult for us to understand it. . . .

The basic problem we had is that in this state a runaway child is actually in violation of the law. Our method if we found them, why we would return them to their parents or take them to court. And there is also a harboring law that says no one should keep a child when they know that child is a runaway. And yet in some of these organizations that started up (I believe the Contact Center when it started) would take them in and know they were runaways and try to work with them but not report it either to the police or the court. Now I'm sure that they thought that their method was good and maybe these kids would take off but it seemed to us that they had some obligation to comply with the law.

The lieutenant was additionally concerned at that time with PYA's ability to handle runaway youth:

I think the difficulty I have with people that have quite a few voluntary people and new people working with young people [is that] I think young people are interesting but they're very complicated and I think they can really fool you, unless you've had some real background knowledge about it . . . Perhaps [PYA was] more sympathetic with the change in the times that were going along and whatnot. But I think that was one of the things we were perturbed about, I would imagine, is that it was something new and something different and we really didn't know how competent the people were . . .

Carney added that in "later years", PYA received permission from MCJC to treat runaway youth and PB respected the agreement.

Baxter felt that PYA's reputation had suffered when bone fragments were reported found in its building's furnace in 1974:

There should have been some kind of supervision. My question is, why would [the perpetrators] even pick that center? Why would they pick that building unless the fact that they had been there before and knew there wasn't a lot of supervision there?

The officer's impression of PYA as a loosely-administered organization was confirmed during a tour of its facility:

I remember my impression when I walked in. There was a large lobby that was hollow-sounding and when I walked in there wasn't anybody in there. We walked down through the basement, I believe it was . . . There was some old beat-up davenports that looked like stuff they wouldn't even give you if you went to the Goodwill . . . And there were kids sitting around; in fact, there was a boy and a girl making out on the couch and there was no supervision.

Regarding HRB's decision to deschedule PYA, Baxter believed that PYA's imperfect relations with PB might have worked against them: "It may have been one of the reasons why it wasn't funded, out of many, would have been the fact that [HRB] felt they just didn't have the rapport or the communication with the Police Bureau. . . ." After the organization's struggle for city funding in 1975, Baxter thought that PYA had alienated itself from HRB:

By the vindictive way they were going at it, it wasn't the kind of people that you would then want to turn around and have working for you . . . It's just not an example that you'd want set for a youth service center that deals with families and kids.

The officer insisted, however, that although he was YSD's liaison to PB, he was never consulted by any city agency about policy towards PYA.

According to Kaufman, HEW was "a little confused" when it received two similar grant applications regarding treatment of runaway youth from EMO and PYA; as a result, Kaufman maintained, HEW's Les Rucker asked CRAG to investigate why the applications were similar. In a letter from

CRAG's Larry Rice to Rucker - and copied both to Sharon Mainzer and Sol Shapiro - Rice referred to previous phone conversations with Rucker but did not specify their content. Rather than dwell on the similarities of the grants, Rice instead chose to submit "the distinctions between the two as revealed by our review" for Rucker's consideration. Rice's letter suggests that CRAG had only been asked to mediate or distinguish between par applicants.

CRAG's comparison between PYA's and EMO's proposals generated a revealing sample of regional evaluation of PYA during this period. From a general perspective, PYA was credited with internal integration and experience with youth but criticized for weaker administrative structure; CRAG noted that PYA "appears to place greater emphasis upon collective decision making and participative management." Specifically CRAG approved of PYA's plans to reimburse foster parents with cash and its intention to employ existing staff for the project rather than recruit volunteers.<sup>5</sup>

In its application to HEW, EMO charged that PYA had abandoned its commitment to runaway youth after it moved into the old Elks Temple and that its "administrative effectiveness" had declined in the interim. As mentioned, PYA terminated its Runaway Program after CRAG discontinued funding; for a while, OYDS considered supporting PYA's runaway services but decided not to. As mentioned, EMO (formerly GPCC) was PYA's fore-runner. It is significant that, according to their application, EMO had supported PYA's establishment "hoping that the runaway services would continue as a strong part of the Contact Center."

Attached to EMO's application was a recommendation from Commissioner Jordan. Jordan credited GPCC with having instituted

Portland's first runaway program, which the commissioner held was a "great success . . . until it went on its own" (i.e. left GPCC to become part of C-YM and PYA).<sup>6</sup>

In the summer of 1976 HEW awarded \$55,000 to EMO and denied funding to PYA.

In reviewing PYA's application for funding to treat alcoholic youth, MCMHD-AD noted that there was a "definite community need" for the proposed service "because there are not sufficient programs serving young alcohol abusers." PYA's proposal was faulted, however, for projecting an "extremely high" cost per client and a "very weak and unclear" evaluation process. The reviewers concluded that the proposed service was being offered "more effectively" by Outside In.<sup>7</sup>

#### COMPETENCE

According to Kaufman, CC services included information, referral, resource provision, and short-term counseling. Clients continued to frequently be those who could not afford private help or who were alienated by conventional agencies. In its re-application to HRB in the fall of 1975, CC noted that it was trusted by its "target population," which it identified as "runaways and other youths with emotional, drug, alcohol, and family problems." It reiterated that it furnished a "non-threatening environment" for such clients to gain access to assistance.<sup>8</sup> In January CC affirmed that it was weekly receiving 430 calls and welcoming 200 visitors; CC counselors, in addition, were seeing 25 clients per week. Kaufman estimated that 75 people per week

were referred to overnight accommodations during the period; a list of private hosts was apparently revived, augmenting such institutional hosts as Union Mission and Holy Order of Mans. CC workers occasionally also hosted clients. From December 1974-May 1976 Bill Allured counseled 100 young alcohol abusers.

Staff credentials as of January included Sol Shapiro, program coordinator, G.E.D., Bill Allured, alcohol coordinator, M.A. in psychology, Scott Bailey, training coordinator, B.A. in general studies and Christy Bauman, counselor, M.A. in psychology. Kaufman held that the program was more concerned with the "demonstrated skill level" of workers than their educational credentials. Volunteers had varying educational backgrounds. Criteria for volunteer counselors included empathy, understanding, and the ability to make a good deal of contact with clients. Candidates for counselor status continued to be asked to record an extramural counseling session for evaluation.

Training of hotline workers/receptionists emphasized the development of self-awareness and listening skills. The training program consisted of seven to ten weekly sessions of four hours each with only one absence permitted. Kaufman said the series was "excellent". Sensitivity was maintained at weekly meetings; after business was completed, CC workers would "take care of themselves". Guest speakers would inform workers of various community resources. Role plays would be employed to maintain listening skills. Kaufman believed such maintenance was effective.

It continued to be CC policy to refer clients to other agencies whose problems were "found to be extremely serious or [who] could better



be treated by specialized care."<sup>9</sup> Seriously disturbed drop-in clients were escorted to UOHSC Crisis Unit. Clients requiring longterm counseling were referred to UOHSC Psychiatric Clinic or introduced to listed private therapists willing to treat low income people.

According to Kaufman:

People calling up needing something usually got what they needed . . . Anyone coming in needing counseling, I believe they got excellent care . . . I believe it was at the professional level . . . And the empathy level at the Contact Center was just dynamite. The counselors were really there for people.

McNannay recalled that he knew that CC existed, did "a lot of work with kids on the street," and had an alcohol and drug counseling service; but he had not visited CC and was not aware of the program's quality.

#### PLANNING

During the period CC mailed a questionnaire to other agencies designed to elicit perceptions of its services. The mailing was undertaken both to learn how CC was perceived and to evaluate its services. Shapiro's proposal for program restructuring, submitted in March, mapped six emphases for CC: in addition to traditional hotline, counseling, alcohol, and volunteer services, the plan called for services in crisis intervention and medical assistance. As mentioned, it also proposed a modification of collective decision making. It was rejected by CC workers. After it became apparent in the spring that PYA would be unable to retain the old Elks Temple, PYA discovered that it would be more convenient for its programs to locate separate facilities than to find another common one. After Mayhue and Groner obtained the Linnea

building for Open Meadow, Mayhue arranged a \$200 monthly lease for a Northwest storefront for PYA and CC.

As mentioned, CC charted expansion of its program during the period by having PYA pursue three major grants. The first bid required PYA cooperation with YSD to procure LEAA funding for a downtown YSC. Had the funding been obtained and PYA awarded the contract, CC would have been asked to supervise a night diversion facility between midnight and 9 a.m. daily. This would have at least involved processing police referrals and directing those youths to neighborhood YSCs for continued attention. The second request involved application to HEW to gain funding for the establishment of treatment services for runaway youth. CC proposed a counseling and referral service, utilizing a projected list of foster parents, to annually serve some 500 runaways. The third solicitation entailed application to MCMHD-AD to obtain funding for the treatment of alcoholic youth. CC planned specialized counseling, 24-hour I&R service, and a night mobile crisis unit for young alcoholics. The program envisioned some half dozen additional staff for the youth alcohol component.

## CHAPTER VI

JULY 1976-NOVEMBER 1977

As sources for this chapter, interviews were recorded with Sharon Mainzer, Barbara (Friedman) Young, and John Mason. Unless otherwise indicated, attributions to these respondents refer to these interviews.

### FUNDING

Public funding of PYA during the period continued to be chiefly derived from CETA, CSD, and PSD. PYA received \$2000 from Summer '76; Arbuckle and CC presented Thursday evening workshops and concerts in Lair Hill Park. The Portland Opportunities Industrialization Center (POIC) provided Self-Reliance \$4500 for wage costs. Four-figure private donations were accepted from Deluxe Check (for a PYA building), United Way (for Out Front House), and the McKenzie River Gathering Foundation (for Family Circus) and the following contributors to Open Meadow: Agape Foundation, Bank of California, Collins Foundation, Omark, Oregon Community Foundation, Public Welfare Foundation, Specialty Foods, Templeton Foundation, Tucker Trust, and Yarg Foundation.

P-CETA contracts amounted to \$45,000 in 1976 and \$124,000 in 1977; MW-CETA contracts amounted to \$58,000 for 1976 and \$52,000 for 1977; CETA contracts from the Clackamas County Employment and Training Agency (C-CETA) amounted to \$800 for 1976 and \$13,000 for 1977; From these CETA contracts, CC received the following support during the period: from

P-CETA, 2 positions from July 1976 and 3 positions from February 1977; from MW-CETA, 1 position through January 1977 and a Special Project including 1 fulltime and 2 halftime positions from September 1977; from C-CETA, 1 position through July 1976. The MW-CETA Special Project had originally been entitled "Crisis Intervention" and had charted the cooperation of PB with projected CC mobile crisis workers. After PB declined to participate, however, the grant was rewritten as "Contact Center Hotline" and proposed to strengthen CC's hotline through the expansion of volunteer recruitment and training. As awarded by MW-CETA, the project not only provided for two employees but furnished \$840 for supporting materials; this was the first time PYA had been permitted to employ CETA money for expenses other than salaries.

The MW-CETA project was pursued by Scott Bailey. From January 1977 TCC's I&R office paid CC \$150 per month to answer their forwarded evening calls. Specific contributions to CC during the period included \$750 from sidewalk solicitation (see Organization, Community Relations), donations of typewriters, furniture, and stationery from local businesses, and a \$50 monthly contribution from the Hillsdale Community Church in 1977. From the summer of 1977 an effort was made to solicit donations from counseling clients; the PYA ledger shows that \$1200 was accepted in 1977. In January 1977 CC and TCC jointly proposed an Alcoholics I&R Service, to be funded by MCMHD-AD at a cost of \$100 per month; the proposal was rejected.

Funding requirements for CC included rent, utilities, phones, supplies, a contribution to PYA, and salaries. Monthly rent at N.W. 16th Avenue increased from \$100 to \$125 while CC shared the building with PYA

and jumped to \$250 when CC became the sole tenant in September 1977. Utilities were estimated at \$35 per month, phones at \$95, and supplies at \$20. CC endeavored to make a \$2200 contribution to PYA in 1977. Personnel needs entailed four to five staff salaries at \$700 per month.

Sources agreed that obtaining funds for CC was difficult. "There wasn't any money at all," Young explained, "and CETA seemed the best deal." "I heard through various sources," Mason added, "that they were having a great deal of trouble getting funds." During this period Mainzer concluded that CC was no longer required in the community and did not attempt to devise a plan for permanent funding of the program:

I saw no hope to fund [CC] because there was no place for it, because other places were doing the same service . . . Basically, I didn't see them as being a program to put a whole lot of energy into."

#### ORGANIZATION

Pauline Anderson acceded to the board chairpersonship in September 1976, inaugurating a three-year span of increased board activity; the board, in fact, often met bi-weekly that fall and winter. At its September meeting the board noted the insecure funding of CC and Arbuckle Flat, observed that the two programs were draining the board's "energy", and wondered whether they had "outlived" their usefulness. Stan Geiger and Tom Hogan were assigned to evaluate CC; later that fall they recommended that CC be retained because the program continued to be employed by an "impressive" number of young adults. In January the board received annual reports from PYA's five programs. CC and Family Circus were the only two programs that did not specifically mention an

orientation towards youth; in response, the board "clarified that Contact Center serves primarily young adults 18-25 years." The following month Anderson proposed that each board member specialize in a facet of PYA's operation; she suggested, for example, that Geiger continue to follow CC and Buzz Willits examine PYA's "planning and new directions."<sup>1</sup>

After PYA left the old Elks Temple in June 1976, Arbuckle Flat was unable to find a new location, although staff members continued to participate in Summer '76; in September 1977 PYA returned to the old Elks Temple and reopened the coffee house there later that fall. PYA launched Self Reliance, a youth employment program, in April 1977 but suspended it after four months because it felt the program had been mismanaged. PYA's four other programs continued during the period without interruption; Out Front House was certified as a professional group home in July 1977. After Mayhue's resignation in September 1976, PYA suggested to the board that the executive directorship be divided into a three-person collective but the board objected. Sharon Mainzer, a PYA administrator since March 1976, became executive director shortly thereafter.

PYA policy continued to be framed by Coordinators council. CC sent a representative to council meetings but Mainzer still felt "they were somewhat of an incestuous group basically." During this period a halftime counselor also worked as a halftime PYA administrator; Mainzer "liked that because then I had somebody right there." In time Mainzer delegated supervision of CC to an assistant, Suzanne Maxson:

CC became her area whereas I went off and did stuff with Open Meadow and Out Front House and got accused of favoritism and something like it. You know, CC was not my focus. She

went to their meetings, she did that sort of thing. If I wanted to know what was going on with CC, I kind of went through Suzanne.

Through January 1977 CC comprised two staff counselors, a volunteer trainer, a resource aide, a few volunteer counselors, and 8-25 volunteer hotline worker/receptionists. According to Young, policy continued to be decided collectively at weekly meetings. But there was no program coordinator during this period; instead, CC created an executive council to expedite policy on a daily basis. "All policy issues had to be approved by the whole collective," Young stated, although "there were some things that the executive board could do without checking back." Typically, the council comprised four staff members, each concentrating on specific areas such as training, funding, and relations with PYA and the community. "None of us would say that anyone was the leader," Young continued, "because in fact we all really did work together." From Mainzer's viewpoint:

I never felt like there was any one strong person during that period of time . . . For each other I think they functioned well because they each had their own little areas and they knew what they were doing. For me, as an administrator, it could be difficult because there wasn't any one central person that I could talk to. . . .

Mason's dealing with CC leaders were on the telephone; he met them personally only at the end of the period. His impression of them was "very positive, that they were doing an extremely good job." Young evaluated CC leadership as "very well intentioned, some naive, and some frantic and frightened." Considering CC's fiscal plight, "we did a very good job. I think we changed the place into something more professional than it had been,"

As Young saw it, morale varied according to the support CC received from PYA and funding sources. At one juncture, she thought morale plummeted after the board questioned the necessity of the program:

At one point the board sort of said, 'Gee, counseling really isn't very important and you're not bringing in any money' . . . Our morale really dropped at that point because we always felt like we were defending ourselves to people who had no conception of what counseling was about.

(See above). Mason confirmed that "there were many low periods when their funding was down . . . but most of the time, I thought their morale was up because they were doing a good job providing a needed service." "They were an interesting group," added Mainzer.

When I started yelling and screaming that they didn't have enough money, they went out and did a bucket drive - I mean physically went out, got buckets, went on the streets and collected money. So you can't complain about them in that way. They really tried. There was enthusiasm and they got through those times together.

Although Mainzer was concerned about the program's insularity, she believed that conscientious volunteers were readily welcomed, integrated, and respected by CC. Mason referred several volunteers to CC and was later told that they were doing well; the volunteers, he added, believed they were providing "a very important service." Young attributed competent integration to Les Goldmann's leadership:

Particularly under Les' push - he just couldn't stand sloppy work - we developed more supervision and stuff like that. During this time, I think we developed a lot of integration of volunteers. . . .



## COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Mason observed that CC's reputation was excellent among any agency that I ever talked to about them . . . With those people they did contact, the people were very impressed with the services they had to offer and their general program.

Mainzer believed that CC was "respected" by other hotlines in the city; they were considered "long term and they had a good track record." During this period, however, "rumors came back" to Young that "CC had a bad name" with the city "because of stuff way back."

Young characterized CC in this period as "paranoid, as feeling very alienated from other social service agencies, so we operated in a whole lot of isolation . . . our reality was that people didn't approve of us and were suspicious of us and that we weren't quite legitimate in their eyes - like they being funding sources, and the city political structure, etc. And we were suspicious of the mental health community also. We would become outraged by tales of how people were treated there when we believed we were treating them better . . . We didn't feel very supported by the community."

CC advertised its services through a PYA leaflet and brief PSAs on television; Mason found the PSA's "ordinary". Goldmann and Young discussed CC on KOAP-FM's "Talkabout" in November 1976. The following month a ten-minute story on CC was included on KGW-TV's "Eastside, Westside". Young represented CC on KPTV's Advisory Board.

A CC staff counselor, Paul Kaufman, was recognized by Meier & Frank in October 1976 as one of ten "top" social service volunteers; Kaufman's selection was announced by the chain in a full-page advertisement

in the Oregonian and in a display in their downtown store. In connection with the award, an article describing Kaufman as "engaging" and concerned also appeared in the Oregonian. In response to the piece, Senator Mark Hatfield wrote Kaufman, hailing him as a volunteer whose "very impressive" dedication was an "inspiration" to others and worthy of "great admiration."<sup>2</sup>

A week after Kaufman's award was announced, Oregonian reporter Sue Hobart impersonated a panhandler, raised nine dollars, and wrote a front page article about the experience; early in the piece, she mentioned that her take was donated to PYA, "a nonprofit organization that provides a variety of human services for youths including emergency food, shelter, and counseling." The bucket drive in the winter of 1977 generated five newspaper articles and a calendar item: three in the Journal, one in the Oregonian, and one and a calendar item in the Downtowner. The first Journal article described CC as "one of Portland's oldest hotline counseling agencies" in which "assistance is always provided free." But "now," the reporter explained, "things are beginning to catch up." The Oregonian article displayed a picture of Friedman (Young) soliciting funds atop a pail labeled "STRESS"; the piece additionally mentioned that Piper's Yogurt Parlor was offering a free yogurt cone to those who donated two dollars or more to CC. The Downtowner piece offered a photograph of Scott Bailey placing a donation in the "stress" pail, which was held by Donna Liberman; a calendar item in the weekly reminded readers that, "For seven years the Contact Center has been serving the Portland community with free help . . . Now they're asking for contributions so that they can keep on serving Portland." The third Journal

story featured a picture of Paul Kaufman with the same pail and depicted CC as a "24 hour emergency food, housing, and counseling program . . . originally conceived as a drug counseling service." Kaufman was described as "shivering at SW 6th Ave. and Morrison St. . . . 'A lot of people don't even want to look at you, act as though you're a bum or a hippie,'" the counselor told reporter Dennis McCarthy, "trying to laugh off the humility. 'It's a crazy way to make a buck.'"<sup>3</sup>

Bailey represented CC at planning meetings of MCMHD's Mental or Emotional Disabilities Program (MCMHD-MED) from January 1977; the meetings sought unsuccessfully to coordinate the services of Portland's various response agencies for an integrated approach to crisis intervention within the county. Young said that when the police were summoned to CC, they "treated people very respectfully." In addition, "once in a while they would bring people in to us. Or they'd see somebody who looked sort of nutsy on the street and they'd refer whoever it was to our place and then stop by and tell us." In connection with an MW-CETA Special Project, Bailey attempted in the summer of 1977 to interest PB in integrating certain of their responses to crisis with projected CC mobile crisis workers; PB rejected the venture (see Funding, Planning).

During this period CC representatives attended breakfasts with representatives from other local social service agencies. Mainzer was "happy to see that. They were trying to find out what else was there and pool resources." Working relationships were maintained with the William Temple House, Harry's Mother, TCC, PB, PSO, MCMHD, and CETA officials. As part of the relationship with William Temple House, CC

helped them train volunteers and expand their resource files. In March 1977 Friendly House resisted PYA's suggestion that they share their funding for community hotline service with CC. At a PYA board meeting in July 1976, it was suggested that Stan Geiger might assist the organization in renewing its contacts with local churches. In a staff letter to churches and synagogues that fall, PYA admitted that

perhaps because of its success in securing large funding from other sources, [PYA] has forgotten its origins and neglected the cultivation and education of church and synagogue constituencies. On the other hand, the church, and perhaps also the synagogues, have appeared to become more hesitant and critical towards social involvement.<sup>4</sup>

Scott Bailey was elected to the Steering Committee of the Oregon Council of Alternative Human Services in the fall of 1976.

According to Mason, CC community relations suffered because "they had difficulty getting the message across. Their contact in the community was limited." Mainzer held that CC's problems with the community in this period were more fundamental:

They had no gloss . . . They didn't have a solid program . . . They were left with a program that was a leftover . . . It's a program that started in the sixties and then started to change . . . There were other hotlines that were more specific . . . The community didn't understand just having a hotline just for anybody. There's a youth hotline, you have to have a suicide hotline, you can't just have a hotline hotline . . . It's like you have to have the 'in' thing. What was the 'in' thing in the seventies? To be doing things for the elderly, to be doing things for the handicapped . . . If you were specialized, you were in trouble.

#### COMPETENCE

Young said that during this period CC featured in-person counseling, volunteer training, and a hotline which provided informa-

tion, referral, crisis counseling, and housing assistance. Mainzer added that CC was

[offering only] two week appointments . . . They were real open to people who couldn't go other places. And I think that was the catastrophe of that program closing was that anybody could walk into that door and they didn't have to fill out 3000 forms to be accepted, they were just accepted period. And that's real important because a lot of time you're at a point where you can't handle another form and the Contact Center was a great place for people to come in that way.

Mason saw CC's services as "primarily geared to people under 30" and including housing (both short term and long term) and job procurement. According to a PYA leaflet, CC served "the Portland community with free help: a hotline, information and referral assistance, crisis and long term counseling, a ride board, emergency housing referral, and client advocacy"; moreover, such assistance was said to be "immediate, competent, and effective." Kaufman reported in 1976 that CC was providing counseling, a hotline, and information and was helping people find clothes, free meals, free groceries, temporary housing, and inter-city transportation; according to reporter Charlotte Graydon, CC furnished these services mostly to people in their twenties but was open to all age groups. Goldmann reported in 1977 that over the years CC was receiving "fewer and fewer" phone calls regarding drug-related problems; current requests were rather concerning emergency food and housing, family problems, and legal matters. Friedman (Young) reported the following week that current clients were mostly "under 30 and poor . . .": "the kids grew up, and we continued to grow with them. The average age of our clients is the early twenties." She added that 30% of CC's clients were either transients or newly-arrived residents.<sup>5</sup>

Because of space limitations, the use of CC as a drop-in center was discontinued after the program left the old Elks Temple; there was no storage room or recreational equipment at CC's new quarters. CC workers contributed to Summer '76 by being accessible at Lair Hill Park during workshops and concerts. In July 1976 the board noted that CC's "activities have been reduced and the volume is down." But in February Friedman (Young) reported that walk-in counseling had doubled during the year and referrals were four times greater.<sup>6</sup> During this period CC was open from 11 a.m.-11 p.m. Monday through Saturday and from 6 p.m.-11 p.m. on Sunday. According to Young, the center came to handle some 40 phone calls and 10 counseling appointments per day. Of the phone calls, some 20 per week were for immediate housing; CC successfully fulfilled some two-thirds of these requests. The PYA leaflet stated that CC monthly advised some 1500 people.

Of CC's four executive council members in February 1977, two were graduate students in psychology, one was a college graduate, and one was a high school dropout. Mainzer considered the formal credentials of CC staff to be "minimal". Young said that counselors without college degrees "had done lots of workshops and had had training." Tape recordings of effective counseling sessions continued to be required of counselor candidates. Counselors were required to attend weekly counselor meetings and sessions with one of three professional consultants: psychiatrist Harvey Horne and counselors Maya Brand and Beverly MacKenzie. A staff training program was also established in this period that included weekly and supplementary sessions; as part of this program, CC staff attended evening workshops on alcoholism taught by the staff

of the Alcoholism Counseling and Recovery Program. Young said, in addition, that CC staff often participated in workshops announced by OMHD. Mainzer agreed that CC staff "went to conferences and knew what was going on in the field." Mason thought that CC's training activities extended to its staff.

Volunteers came from a broad spectrum and included housewives, students, ex-hippies, and newcomers to Portland; a few graduate students typically served as counselors. Training consisted of 30 hours, including some five evening sessions and a weekend. Classes covered listening, probing, conversing, and solving skills, as these pertained to client service both in person and on the phone. Mason confirmed that he was "aware that they had a good training program for their volunteers . . . If I referred somebody over there for volunteer work, I knew that the orientation would be very good and that they would get some good, adequate training." Mainzer was impressed with the process by which volunteers were screened and trained. In its annual report to the board for 1976, CC noted that it had accepted only 25 volunteers of 75 applicants.

Young explained that clients presenting "heavy" problems, such as those surrounding medication and hospitalization, were often referred to UOHSC; consulting psychiatrist, Harvey Horne, was additionally on call for such cases. Mainzer confirmed that CC referred counseling clients to other agencies, such as MCMHD clinics, when necessary.

According to Young, staff evaluation was a constant concern. Goldmann continually criticized fellow staff members in an effort to keep improving performance.

Young felt that CC counselors were

absolutely excellent. They were ethical and they did a good job . . . We turned ourselves [from] an ad hoc counseling staff into a staff that we thought was very competent and we were proud of . . .

In addition, she thought that some hotline workers were "absolutely excellent in both doing good I&R work and good crisis work over the phone," Mainzer believed that

anybody that walked in the door didn't feel alienated because, despite the fact that the building was falling down and disgusting, there was some warmth there and they could talk with ease. [CC counselors] listened to each other and they listened to people who were just coming in. [CC hotline workers] were patient . . . From what I could tell, they seemed competent.

During her tenure, she received only one complaint about CC's hotline service; "that's a pretty good record," she concluded. Mason believed that CC was

extremely good . . . and very competent in their information and referrals . . . They were very good at locating jobs for young people . . . I thought they were very good in all the services they attempted to provide.

#### PLANNING

At the board meeting in September 1976, Tom Hogan and Beryl Linn pointed out that there continued to be a great need for facilities for youths who needed to be removed from their homes; they suggested that PYA "aggressively" propose such resources. The board observed that juvenile delinquency had become "tougher" over the decade and that problems were endemic to youth of all income levels; it directed its members to further research the problems indicated by youth. Linn and Willits presented the results of their extended research to the board



in January 1977. They identified over twenty problems indicated by youth and sketched nearly a dozen possible solutions. Problems included boredom with school, a widespread lack of coping and job skills, involvement with drugs and crime - often coupled with surprising skill at manipulating the educational and correctional systems. Possible solutions included creative residential facilities, demonstration projects in the schools, and career development programs.<sup>7</sup>

David Dowell approached Out Front House in the fall of 1977 about initiating a youth employment program; Dennis Gilman subsequently introduced Dowell to PYA's board and coordinators. In April PYA established a new program, Self-Reliance, loaned it \$1000, and appointed Dowell its coordinator. During its four months of operation, Self-Reliance employed a few teenage supervisors and about a dozen teenage workers to do landscaping and remodeling for businesses and residents throughout the city. In its evaluation of the program in the winter of 1978, PYA regretted that it had authorized a program

based on hearsay and haphazard procedures . . . There was never a written program plan. Without a written program plan there were no established guidelines as to the number of staff needed and their area of expertise. Insufficient planning also precluded input from persons who were responsible for or could assist in development of this project . . . Lack of planning created a program without a structure which in turn led to severe problems in fiscal and program management.

PYA resolved not to initiate a new program unless PYA administrators had "time to work with and support" the new program's staff.<sup>8</sup>

Mainzer's plan for CC's future was to help them "ease into another program, so they could make a nice smooth transition, so that nobody would get lost in the shuffle." In its annual report to the board for

1976, CC forecasted that it would coordinate its services with other I&R agencies and cooperate in joint funding ventures; the program additionally aimed to further develop its outreach and emergency housing services. According to Young, CC engaged in limited short term planning in connection with applications for CETA funding; the staff was "real excited", for example, about Bailey's proposal to the police regarding the MW-CETA Special Project. But she said that opportunities for CETA funding appeared so unpredictably and required such hasty response that at those times CC had to "spend time instantly coming up with something that we had had no notice for"; such a pattern, she believed, tended to discourage "long range planning."

Young concluded that planning CC's future was difficult because there weren't enough firm variables . . . Funding sources were absolutely erratic. Our support from the PYA Board was . . . not to be counted on. There were at least three times when we really thought that we were going to fold because a CETA contract wasn't going to come in. We'd talk about trying to do planning but there wasn't anything solid to plan with . . . We didn't want to invest lots of time planning something that probably wouldn't come through.

## CHAPTER VII

NOVEMBER 1977-SEPTEMBER 1979

As sources for this chapter, interviews were recorded with Pauline Anderson, Howard Schecter, and Joe Parker. Unless otherwise indicated, attributions to these respondents refer to these interviews.

### FUNDING

PYA derived its public funding chiefly from CETA, CSD, PSD, and, after June 1978, MCMHD-AD. Four-figure private donations were accepted from the Templeton Foundation, the Tucker Foundation, the United States National Bank, and the Yarg Foundation for Open Meadow and from the Dayton-Hudson Foundation for Arbuckle Flat. P-CETA contracts amounted to \$265,000 in 1978 and \$74,000 in 1979; MW-CETA contracts amounted to \$105,000 for 1978 and \$103,000 for 1979; C-CETA contracts amounted to \$24,000 for 1978 and \$15,000 for 1979. From these contracts, CC received the following support: from P-CETA, three positions through December 1978 and a Special Project with four positions from April 1978-March 1979; from MW-CETA, one position through February 1979, the continuation of a Special Project with one fulltime and two halftime positions through September 1978, and an additional Special Project with three positions from September 1978-September 1979.

The P-CETA Special Project was entitled "Twenty-four Hour Hotline" and was designed to enable CC to provide continuous hotline service. In

addition to furnishing \$3900 for supporting materials and services, the project permitted the hiring of an additional trainer for volunteer training, a statistician for detailed logging, and two hotline staff members. The MW-CETA Special Project for FY 1979 was entitled "Community Health Skill Development"; it aimed to familiarize Southeast residents with problem-solving skills so as to encourage preventive mental health within Southeast neighborhoods. In addition to allocating \$2000 in supporting materials and services, the project provided CC with three additional employees.

In the fall of 1977, CC renewed its efforts to secure county funding for the revival of its youth alcohol component. The center's proposal involved a fourfold approach to the treatment of alcoholic youth in the county: 1) to identify alcoholics in 11 high schools, 2) to evaluate and counsel 135 clients, 3) to coordinate supportive activities for these clients, and 4) to involve the community in the component. CC requested some \$39,000 for the project's initial year; MCMHD-AD notified CC in April that it would grant \$46,500 from June 1978-June 1979. The following month, however, PYA assigned those funds to a new program (see Organization).

Also in the fall of 1977, MCMHD-MED decided to pursue its interest in crisis intervention by requesting competitive proposals from the response agencies it had been meeting with since January. CC's proposal relied on its proven approach to hotline response and mobile dispatch. MCMHD-MED awarded a \$101,000 contract in March, however, to Metro Crisis Intervention Service (MCIS), a consortium that included the Carl Morrison Center, Outside In, Portland Hotline, and Suicide and Personal Crisis

Service; this amount was doubled the following year.

In March 1978 CC and Open Meadow joined eight other public and private agencies in a collective application to CRAG for funding of a comprehensive diversion program for status offenders in Multnomah County. The grant request, which charted services in crisis intervention, psychological evaluation, and vocational counseling amounted to \$176,000. CC itself pledged 24-hour telephone counseling, personal counseling, and training of project workers in drug and alcohol abuse; in addition to supporting materials, its proposed budget asked for two additional employees (a counselor and a trainer) and amounted to \$28,000. CRAG tabled the grant in the summer of 1978. The consortium resubmitted a revised proposal in the spring of 1979 that included Open Meadow and Mainstream but not CC; after delay this plan was funded in the winter of 1981. Also in the spring of 1978, CC and Out Front House unsuccessfully applied to P-CETA for a joint Special Project entitled "Family and Group Counseling"; the project would have provided for the employment of two family and group therapists - one at CC, the other at Out Front House. The proposal was tabled by P-CETA in October and never revived.

That same spring CC unsuccessfully applied to the Presbytery of the Cascades for a grant of \$4500 for half the annual salary of an additional staff person. In the spring of 1979, CC approached MCMHD about assisting the Southeast and East clinics in providing outpatient service; CC noted that both these clinics were having to turn away at least three out of four applicants and asked to treat surplus applicants on a per client fee basis. Projected client therapy comprised an initial

interview, evaluation, appropriate referrals, and a minimum of three counseling sessions and was offered at the rate of \$33 per client year. MCMHD indicated in June that they would be unable to purchase such help.

Through June 1978 TCC's I&R office continued to pay CC \$150 per month to answer their forwarded evening calls. The center continued to enjoy monthly support from the Hillsdale Community Church, which was raised to \$63 in 1978. CC received \$200 from the Westland Foundation and \$100 from the Wentworth Foundation. A donation drive for overhead expenses in the winter of 1978 netted \$400 after 2000 letters had been mailed; it also persuaded the Odd Fellows Home to offer CC a wing of office space at nominal rent. In January 1978 the Oregonian could still report that "occasionally clients donate money for counseling services."<sup>1</sup> But, according to Anderson, the board subsequently insisted that fees be assessed and collected from clients (see Organization, Competence). The PYA ledger indicates that CC collected \$5000 from clients in 1978. Anderson mentioned that "we never really expected" client fees to generate much money.

Funding requirements varied during the period. While at Laurelwood, CC's rent was \$150 per month. While at the old Odd Fellows Home, rent was nominal but CC and Mainstream were responsible for some 13% of the building's utility bills; in February 1979, for example, the two programs were assessed some \$1200 for the first nine months of their lease. Before the introduction of late hotline service, CC employed five fulltime and two halftime staff; after the service was inaugurated, the center deployed 10 fulltime staff. Monthly salaries were between \$700 and \$750 plus benefits. Moreover, from September 1977-September

1979, CC was reimbursed \$6700 for materials, supplies, and services by CETA sponsors. To maintain CC as of the end of the period, Schecter said the program needed a minimum of three fulltime staff at \$9000 per year plus benefits and an operating budget of \$15,000. Anderson agreed that "a paid staff . . . seemed to be necessary for all [PYA] programs and probably especially for CC."

Schecter concluded that "the overall picture of the availability of funds for a program like CC was terrible . . . There has never been a lot of funds available for mental health in terms of foundation support and public funding. It's not a very popular item." "A lot of foundations, as I understood it," added Anderson, "were only interested in giving to a program that was kind of experimental and new . . . Funding for a new program seemed to be more easily obtained than for a program that was on its feet but needed to justify itself by generating its own funding." CC was unable to meet this criterion, she said, because its clients were "not able to pay." "There was just never a nibble for foundation money," confirmed Schecter. "We always had a hard time with foundations because we were so alternative." By alternative the coordinator said he meant "a mental health facility . . . where income was not important" yet care was "quality" and whose "structure" was "collective and not hierarchical."

Parker believed that CC suffered in the late seventies from the changing social situation, as it continued to appear interested in treating street people:

The interest in street kids . . . stemmed from the time when a lot of those kids were middle class and the middle class and upper class were interested in what happened to

them. As time went on . . . [those] kids came in off the street, went back to college . . . and what you had on the street then were poor kids, like you've had always, and there wasn't much interest in them compared to when there were middle class kids all over the street.

#### ORGANIZATION

During this period, the board took particular interest in the progress of PYA's six programs and exerted significant influence on them. In May 1979 Open Meadow's coordinator wondered whether the board's increasing interest in PYA's progress was occurring at the expense of the coordinators' traditional "responsibility and authority."<sup>2</sup> Regarding CC, the board supported the program's emphasis on family counseling in the winter of 1978 but continued to criticize the center's drift to a young adult clientele. According to Schecter, the shift was "a major area of contention . . . for a long time. They kept bringing up at the table 'Hey, CC doesn't deal with youth. Why are they still here?' And we'd slough them off basically." Anderson confirmed that "PYA, just by its name, was heavily involved in youth and I think that we kind of resisted going into a young adult program." In January 1979 Jerry Blake became the board's specialist on CC. In July the board voted to expel CC from PYA if the center did not resume concentrating on youth in the fall.

In April 1978 CC and Out Front House jointly proposed a Special Project to P-CETA that involved a coordinated approach to family and group counseling (see Funding). In July PYA proposed that, rather than assess programs a percentage of their receipts for part of its costs, the programs together raise \$15,000 according to "reasonable" criteria;



PYA felt it was inappropriate for a humanistic organization to "impose" assessments on its members.<sup>3</sup> From October 1978-March 1979 CSD placed Out Front House on probation as a professional group home, alleging deficiencies in discipline and facilities. In the winter of 1979 PYA hired Ann Tompkins of San Francisco to conduct a week of criticism workshops - both with individual programs and with the organization as a whole; nearly 30 PYA workers participated. Arbuckle Flat was again and finally closed in July 1979. Parker believed that CC's affiliation with PYA "diffused its image quite a bit" as PYA was involved in "entertainment and political actions and a whole bunch of different things." PYA continued to be governed by a consensus of its coordinators council. From January 1979 it employed two executive co-directors. In an agency profile in 1978, an MW-CETA representative observed that "Participants I have talked with over the years find PYA a good place to work . . . everyone is supportive of one another. Supervision is supportive without being oppressive."<sup>4</sup>

After CC was notified of funding for its youth alcohol component, the coordinators council debated whether PYA should forward those funds to CC or employ the money to maintain a new program for alcoholic youth (see Competence). Certain council members felt that the future youth alcohol project should be "free to be a separate program with its own goals and objectives."<sup>5</sup> All programs except CC concluded that the funds should be used to support a new program within PYA. Consensus was achieved when a compromise was reached that authorized a new program but confined the selection of its coordinator to in-house appointment; this process facilitated CC coordinator Scott Bailey's accession to Mainstream

coordinator. During his tenure from May 1978-May 1979, CC and Main-stream worked closely together in adjacent quarters and Bailey continued as a CC counselor.

The number of CC personnel varied during the period. As of December 1977 staff consisted of five fulltime and two halftime members sharing administration, community relations and fundraising, counseling, and volunteer recruitment, training, and supervision; volunteers consisted of about 11 hotline workers and four counselors. In the spring of 1978 three additional hotline workers were added to the staff while the number of volunteers grew to about 20 hotline workers and 7 counselors. By June 1979 the staff had dwindled to three and the volunteer corps to about 15 short term counselors and 6 long term counselors.

CC continued to be collectively managed by its workers and supervised by its staff. According to Schecter the staff delegated responsibility for counseling procedure to Friedman [through 1978] and responsibility for administration to Bailey followed by Schecter. Staff members informed the collective of progress in their areas of specialization. Schecter believed CC

ran very smoothly . . . the thing about the internal structure of the center which was unique was the seven staff members we had up until the addition of the three [night] people - we had an incredible trust level built up which meant that we could pretty well air any kind of disagreements [among] ourselves . . . basically we all liked each other an incredible amount and it made working together, especially as a collective, uniquely smooth.

Among volunteers, "lots of volunteers were real satisfied with what was going on" but some wanted "more involvement . . . Sometimes there were a

lot of volunteers disgruntled about how much information was passing back and forth."

In a paper about CC written in 1980, Schechter further analyzed staff interaction from September 1977-September 1978. He stated that "positive feelings" were affectionately exchanged by the staff but that members were "often too nice" to criticize each other; in addition the closeness of the staff alienated many volunteers. Trust was freely offered and leadership easily traded; but because assignments were often overlooked and accountability not diligently assumed, many necessary tasks were neglected or poorly accomplished. Yet Schechter felt that the group's flexibility encouraged improvement in the competence of its members - "becoming together," as he put it.<sup>6</sup>

Parker argued that while CC was "theoretically a collective, it was run, in fact, by an oligarchy. There were particular people who made important decisions." Anderson thought that CC's organization "worked out fairly well. I was never aware of a lot of controversy or conflict within the program." At a CC retreat in January 1979, volunteers participated in initial discussions; towards the end of the weekend, a Task Force composed of staff and volunteers devised specific recommendations based on previous exchanges.

According to Schechter, Bailey and himself performed "pretty well" as administrators but could have delegated more responsibility to other staff members. Anderson felt CC administrators were "dedicated and committed to the aims and objectives of the program. They were really caring people." Parker described CC leadership throughout much of the period as "always barely good enough . . . it seemed okay . . ."; as the

center's existence became problematic, however, he felt that its leadership became ineffective.

Schecter said that meetings were "sometimes really frustrating and long and painful" but were "most of the time real efficient . . . I would say that the meetings were pretty well organized and got a lot accomplished considering how many things we were trying to do." Staff meetings were held weekly for about an hour and a half; the collective, on the other hand, convened only monthly during this period for about two hours. Schecter attributed the comparative infrequency of collective meetings to the expanded number of volunteers. Parker attended a few meetings and observed a "pseudo collective, in the sense that individual people had a lot of power but it wasn't handled clearly." He also felt that "they tried to make a lot of decisions on a collective basis that couldn't be made on a collective basis in a timely way."

According to Anderson, CC morale was "probably up and down . . . uncertainty about where they were going to be housed" or how they were going to be funded "certainly caused morale problems, I'm sure." Schecter confirmed that staff morale "went up and down depending on financial security . . . Overall it was good just because we were working with each other and doing work we were really proud of." "I wouldn't place it high or low," added Parker. "You didn't see a whole lot of esprit de corps or a real drive to do a particular thing" but morale didn't "look remarkably low until quite late."

Schecter thought that volunteers mixed with some staff "real well; some of the paid staff they didn't really get involved with . . ." The coordinator believed that volunteers were fairly well integrated,

pointing out that staff continued to recreate with them on camping trips, retreats, and at taverns. Parker said that a "small number" of dissatisfied volunteers left CC during this period to enlist with Outside In (see Competence).

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Anderson had the feeling that "what was being done" at CC was respected . . .

I think the establishment didn't necessarily feel that they wanted to be a part of it but felt that it needed to be there . . . The fact that kids were getting off on drugs in an anti-social way and were becoming a real drag on society - I think people felt that they needed some kind of treatment, counseling, referring kind of thing. And CC was a legitimate and logical way to do it because here were people that were very sympathetic with the clients where the Establishment is not necessarily sympathetic with kids who take drugs, get spaced out, and do bizarre things.

Schecter said that CC's image with other social service agencies was "real good" but

over all our reputation was [as] an alternative, hippie street agency. For the years that I was there, CC's reputation was a carryover a lot from the middle years of the seventies and it took a lot of work convincing people that we weren't quite like that any more and were doing some different stuff. Unfortunately we still looked like everybody did from the [middle] seventies . . .

Parker found CC's reputation

highly variable: some people would mention individual workers there who appeared to have a very high skill level, others would mention running into disorganization and just general fuzziness of the way the whole thing ran.

There was

quite a bit of opinion that what they were doing towards the end had declined in quality rather badly. In fact, I would almost argue that probably their first two years

[1970-72] were their best and things kind of slid all the way down from there.

Anderson recalled a "newspaper spread" that contained "some very favorable reporting on CC." After CC had located in Laurelwood, the Oregonian saluted the center's recent move to the east side with an article and two photographs on the front page of its Day section. The piece was entitled "Grownup Contact Center Offers Counseling Service on East Side" and featured pictures of Susan Salkfield in front of a huge referral list and Maddy Porter; the former was captioned "Help at hand" and credited the list with having "up-to-the-minute referral information." The story implied that CC's clients of the early seventies composed its current clientele: they had gravitated to the east side as they grew older and CC was following them there. It went on to describe how CC once comprised components for runaways and drop-ins but was now concentrating on counseling and referral. "'We've grown up,'" Porter told the newspaper. The article paraphrased Porter as reporting that CC

lends an ear when people want to talk, offers referral service for survival needs . . . and helps people find transportation. The staff also offers crisis intervention and emotional support as well as short and long term counseling for individuals, couples, and families.

Porter additionally pointed out that CC furnished immediate help in emergencies and two-day response for other urgent requests. Later that summer, the Oregonian announced a 36-hour volunteer training class at the old Odd Fellows Home; it remarked that CC's hotline operated 20 hours daily, providing "crisis intervention, emotional support, and problem-solving assistance."<sup>7</sup>

Schecter recalled placing PSAs on several radio and television

stations regarding CC's services and volunteer recruitment; he was also a guest on KBOO-FM's "Open Forum" in the winter of 1979. Because CC was obliged to move three times during this period, the center was diligent about publicizing new addresses and phone numbers. But Parker complained that during the period CC was "not very available. Sometimes we had trouble finding out where they were." CC representatives addressed high school classes on several occasions about preventive mental health, crisis intervention, and youth problems. They additionally visited social service agencies to coordinate services. Agencies were also surveyed by mail to determine what they knew of CC's services and which they employed.

As CC concentrated on counseling at the expense of drop-in and hotline services (see Competence), contacts with the police declined. According to Schecter, at Salmon Street and the old Odd Fellows Home "most of the police didn't know we were there." At Laurelwood, police were encouraged to divert "spaced out" nuisances to the center and "occasionally" did so. Anderson remembered an "attempt to get the police to understand what we were about. . . ." Parker remarked that over its history CC had "set up an adversary situation [with the police] and maintained it all the way through . . . I was aware that they had sort of a chronic ongoing adversary situation with the police."

In an agency profile in 1978 an MW-CETA field representative noted that PYA was a "very organized operation. All areas are very cooperative and Sharon Mainzer, contact person, has always been helpful in coordinating the programs with CETA."<sup>8</sup> Schecter mentioned that CC did "a lot of liaison work with the county" and with "ex-county workers".

Parker felt that CC's failures with the county during the period were partly attributable to their dogmatic clinical attitudes (see Chapter VIII):

It seemed to confer upon them a dreadful certainty about what they were about. They knew damn well what the truth was and the way things ought to be and felt free to get fairly rough with people who didn't see it that way . . . They came upon you with this religious zealot level of belief that their view of the world and their way of doing things was right and that makes a poor impression on people from the outset. They sort of defined city and county officials as non-human bureaucrats who were not going to ever do the right thing unless somebody hit them with a pick handle or something . . . And in approaching [these officials] as if they were a problem and as if they needed to be coerced or scared or hassled, it made those city and county officials feel real bad . . . That was the kind of feeling one got around [CC representatives]. They were really hard to get in contact with because they had already defined so many things that other people were . . . And that made them real hard to deal with.

Schecter remarked that CC's collective process was its primary "political statement". In the fall of 1977 Scott Bailey was elected vice-chairperson of the Oregon Coalition of Alternative Human Services, acceding to the chair in April. From the spring of 1978 Greg Garland followed by Scott Bailey attended planning meetings of the Portland affiliate of the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy, an organization that encourages charity to nontraditional agencies by foundations, corporations, and community chests; activities of the Portland Committee were initially charted by representatives from five local groups. In the spring of 1979 Jerry Blake moderated a panel on youth service planning at a conference of the Metropolitan Youth Commission at Lewis and Clark College.



## COMPETENCE

Schechter stated that CC aimed "to deliver the best possible counseling service within our power." He added that referral continued to be a key part of CC service: "Any client that could have their needs met better for the same price somewhere else, we referred them." For this purpose, the center maintained a roster of some 2000 agencies and contact persons within those agencies. Anderson said that "counseling and referral was probably what I felt they were doing." "If I had to put a word on it," offered Parker,

it was a counseling agency . . . They appeared to be running a drop-in center where people could appear without appointments basically due to some need . . . They ran a counseling service that seemed to both provide scheduled counseling and walk-in counseling. They did a fair amount of I&R.

In a statement of its goals in the spring of 1978, CC averred that its purpose was "to offer the community an alternative to the established mental health system (county, private) which many of our clients find inaccessible or too expensive"; towards that end, the center operated a hotline and counseled clients.<sup>9</sup>

CC services varied during the period. After moving to Laurelwood, Friedman told the board that CC would concentrate on family counseling. At about the same time Porter reported that the center was focusing on short and long term counseling. Schechter confirmed that casual drop-in traffic decreased sharply after CC left the west side. Hotline service was expanded to 20 hours daily in May 1978. In January 1979 the collective met in weekend retreat to discuss revision of services. Based on the sessions, a task force at the retreat recommended that CC concentrate

on short term and crisis counseling, maintain long term counseling, and phase out the hotline; by short term counseling, the task force envisioned one or two sessions with clients followed by referrals to appropriate agencies. The staff adopted the proposal the following week. The hotline was formally closed in April.

Porter reported that CC clients were in their twenties. Schecter agreed that during this period CC generally served an "adult, white, poor population." It was Parker's impression that CC was "interested in alienated youth" which he presumed meant "people from about 14 up to about 25 who tended to adopt a counterculture lifestyle. . . ." During this period counseling clients were charged a fee on a sliding scale based on their ability to pay. Anderson felt that these fees required clients to take their counseling more seriously.

Hours varied during the period. As of May 1978 daily hotline service was offered 24 hours while counseling was available from 8 a.m.-8 p.m. From the spring of 1979, however, the hotline was, as mentioned, no longer operating and counseling hours were reduced to weekdays only from 10 a.m.-6 p.m. According to Schecter, up until the demise of the hotline, CC was daily fielding some 50 phone calls and weekly counseling between 20 and 60 clients. "All our counselors always had a full case load . . . County clinics did not do any outpatient counseling. So the only places in town that were doing low-cost outpatient counseling were Outside In and CC and Outside In only did it in the evening hours."<sup>10</sup> CC monthly received about 40 referrals for counseling from MCMHD clinics, about 30 from Woodland Park, and smaller numbers from William Temple House, TCC, and PACT. In addition, CC daily

received about five requests for overnight accommodation, negotiating about 3/4 of them. Parker had the impression that, after leaving the west side, CC's clientele became "small . . . My guess would be that their intake in clients dropped quite a bit."

By May 1978 staff credentials consisted of four master degrees in psychology or education, five bachelor degrees in assorted fields, and a high school diploma. Schecter stated that there was continual staff training by outside experts

both donated and paid for . . . We really had a strong commitment to training, cajoling a lot of really good people into coming and doing training for us either free or real cheap. We were all real good at scavenging that kind of thing. . . .

Training expenses were written into CETA project budgets; a mileage log filed with MW-CETA lists a visit to Comprehensive Options for Drug Abusers in July 1978. Ann Tompkins conducted a criticism workshop with CC staff during her visit in 1979. CC continued to require counselors to submit a tape of a counseling session recorded elsewhere with an outside client. To maintain skills counselors discussed cases at weekly counselor meetings and met periodically with one of three volunteer supervisors; during this period supervisors included psychiatrist Harvey Horne and therapists Shannon Perneti and Herb Biskar.

Volunteers were students, housewives, and working people looking for further stimulation. Most were middle class, a few were working class. For insurance reasons, all were over 18; ages ranged from 18-64. Screening consisted of an orientation interview to determine motives, expectations, and interpersonal skills. Schecter said that CC "did a lot of screening out of people who we felt would take too much to get

them to where we wanted them to be." CC reported 30 hours of training classes in January 1978, 36 hours in September 1978. As the Oregonian paraphrased Porter, training was designed "to help the worker become comfortable talking to people with problems." Schecter recalled a five-week session meeting two evenings weekly that taught counseling skills, crisis response, and, until the winter of 1979, I&R techniques.

We spent a large part of our time doing role plays; modeling a skill and having volunteers practice it over and over again using each other as client and counselor and always having them using real issues from their life . . . And the reason we did that was, one, it was a lot more effective . . . and [two,] to have our volunteers experience what it's like to be on the other end of a counseling encounter.

Attrition rates were about 25%; in addition, CC screened out about 15% of its graduates. Once or twice a year, a refresher class was held for veteran workers during a collective meeting.

Parker felt that "as a minor Gestalt training program," CC's training was "pretty good . . ." But

one of the things I thought was a problem was they spent a lot of energy training people just to talk to somebody, to reflect their statements back to them, this intensive listening sort of thing, and then stopped right there. The idea seemed to be that if you knew the technology right, then the overall strategy would take care of itself. And I just don't see that as being the way it is.

CC training included "fine detail on how to acquire certain information about people . . . but not much on what you do with it once you got it." Parker blamed this lack of objectives on the absence of clinical purpose:

If you're going to operate in the real world . . . you have to have a clear picture of what your overall mission is . . . I'm not at all sure that their mission was clear. They seemed to be more conducting a lifestyle than an operation.

They seemed to have [these] particular values related to [the Gestalt therapy] school more than anything else and if the school didn't carry with it . . . an objective in a situation, then they didn't have anything outside of that.

He held that one of the effects of this limitation was to deprive volunteers of other needed skills and, for this reason, cause some of them to feel stranded in the field. An MW-CETA representative noted in 1978 that "other agencies place value on [CC's] training by hiring individuals with this experience"; on four occasions that year Raphael House invited CC staff members to help train its workers.<sup>11</sup>

To insure appropriate treatment of seriously ill clients, CC maintained ready contact with UOHSC Crisis Unit and Woodland Park, among others; in addition, its trio of volunteer psychiatrists and therapists were available for emergencies (see above). Parker observed that CC was "reasonably responsible about [referring seriously ill clients] when they knew that they were in over their heads. But sometimes they didn't know."

After CC was notified of funding for its youth alcohol component, the coordinators council debated whether PYA should forward the funds to CC (see Organization). Two members of the council wondered whether CC staff could "accept the extra burden" of a youth alcohol component. Bailey did not believe these concerns were justified.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of what she learned from board members and the administration, Anderson assumed that CC personnel were "a highly competent bunch of people . . . They seemed to do counseling and referral well." Schecter felt that CC met

high standards of quality . . . There was an occasional

volunteer [whose] skills weren't right who slipped in through our training program just because we didn't have the guts to tell them to go away because we liked them too much. For the most part I wuld say that we had the best trained volunteer staff in mental health in the city, without a doubt.

Parker mentioned that he

never met somebody there . . . who presented a rather high profile of clinical mental health type competence . . . I would say that they ranged from . . . probably a few good people - from what I heard of them in the community, it wasn't a lot of really crack people, it was a few [and] they had a fair number that were trained and operated reasonably well within the range that they had. [But] there were some folks who seemed to have really bad opinions of what they did.

Parker felt that CC's competence was sharply dependent on a client's health: with healthy clients, the center performed "fairly well"; with sick clients, "really bad." MW-CETA's field representatives rated CC's performance in volunteer training in FY 78 as outstanding but its performance in community mental health in FY 79 as only satisfactory.

#### PLANNING

CC's funding applications reveal a continual effort to chart creative additions to the program (see Funding). The proposal for a youth alcohol component attracted county support. Cooperation with the consortium application foresaw a fresh role for CC: drawing on its nearly eight years of experience with alienated youth to familiarize project workers with substance abusers. The proposal to P-CETA regarding family counseling envisioned reviving liaison therapy with Out Front House. The weekend retreat of January 1979 was a key planning event; at that meeting a CC task force decided to surrender the hotline, continue to eschew drop-in service, and concentrate on short term counseling

(see Competence). This permitted the program to negotiate with MCMHD as a credible candidate for a supplementary outpatient clinic.

Anderson remembered "an attempt to change the program rather drastically" towards the end of the period. "I think that it was wise that it make new plans . . . It just didn't seem to have a real direct focus any more. So it needed to change." Parker noted that

from what I heard of them, they were ready to adapt to the needs of any kind of funding source that came along. They basically saw the care of youth and alienated youth as some description, as their general field, but they were willing to deal in much wider areas . . . so they weren't that hung up on any individual population.

Schechter admitted that ample CETA funding during this period made CC complacent about its survival; moreover planning

took a lot of time and putting time into that takes time away from direct service, as far as we were concerned. I'd say overall, we were really nearsighted in terms of planning for the future, in terms of fronting to the real world what we needed to do to get the money . . . In terms of planning for the future in meeting the needs of our clients we were fine but in terms of keeping the center going, I'd say we weren't real sharp. . . .

## UNIT C

### CONCLUSION

The previous five chapters submitted findings for each factor in each period; the following three chapters comprehensively analyze this data from the perspectives of special attitudes, two factors over time, and one collective factor over time. Some of these perspectives are new to the study; in order that they be plainly validated, significant evidence is fully cited, even at the risk of repetition.

The following three chapters collectively analyze the data presented in the previous five chapters. Chapter VIII alleges that PYA and CC assumed special attitudes during the five time periods. The attitudes are divided into three categories; the categories are examined consecutively. Chapter IX aims to draw a conclusion from the study, examining all data presented in Chapters III through VIII. It reviews CC and PYA's performance first with respect to competence and organization, then with respect to a collective factor called "mediation with the external landscape." It next attempts to gauge the effects of PYA and CC's special attitudes. Finally the chapter recounts CC's demise and attempts to explain the underlying reasons for it.

On the basis of what he learned in his study of CC, the author in Chapter X endeavors to advise what are often called alternative human service agencies about their perpetuation. To clarify what is meant by



alternative human service, the author surveys relevant literature and from it derives a rationale for such service. Dilemmas regarding perpetuation of alternative human service agencies are next considered. Finally, the author offers his prescriptions to these dilemmas.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SPECIAL ATTITUDES

The study indicates that PYA and CC assumed certain cultural, political, and clinical attitudes in the course of their decade of social service. These attitudes are expressed in statements by PYA members in records and interviews and remarked by PYA members and others in records and interviews.

### COUNTERCULTURAL ATTITUDES

Before examining PYA and CC's countercultural attitudes, concepts of counterculture will be stated. Lerner equates the development of counterculture with the growth of a coalition of hippies in the United States. Wolfe places the formation of hippie subculture in San Francisco from February-August 1965. The Fifteenth Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (1975) found hippies distinguished by their

search for a non-materialistic way of life, by their preference for unconventional clothing and hair styles, and frequently by their use of psychedelic drugs and marihuana . . . The Hippie way of life involves a great deal of music making, free and unhibited sexuality, and drug taking . . . The Hippie cult is not just a negative repudiation . . . but is in part a search for new modes of interpersonal, social, and economic relationship.

Roszak affirms that counterculture is characterized by "interests in the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments." Simmons and Winograd appreciated that the

hang loose ethic repudiated the right and competence of governments, schools, and parents to make decisions for others.<sup>1</sup>

PYA may have been influenced by the ongoing attitudes of PCCM, its initial host. In March 1971 Dubay considered involving downtown churches in PCCM's young adult ministry because their membership was "crucial for development of communities seeking new life styles and needing mutual support in making 'the system' more humane." Such ambitious aspirations by PCCM invited criticism. That spring a consultative team warned PCCM that it was spreading itself "too thin" and was "at the mercy of every new invitation to experimental ministry."<sup>2</sup>

There is evidence that in its early years PYA was staffed by counterculture members. Dubay appreciated the "extensive participation" in PYA of "new generation folk". According to Meier, at a seminar with ATF PYA representatives tried to "turn [the bureau] on to our countercultural ideas" and notions about "creating a different society." In relating to PYA staff, Meier was "ministerial in defining what counterculture was". TCC remarked that PYA was "staffed by new culture young adults." Of eleven staff members listed in the fall of 1970, two were described as street people, one as a motorcycle gang member, and one as an ex-convict on the road. The Oregonian noted in 1971 that PYA streetworkers dressed and spoke like hippies; Johnny Dicycle reported that he had associated with hippies and motorcycle gangs. Anderson doubted that CC could have

worked had not the people running the program been counterculture . . . I think that was one of the plusses of the program was that the people who did the counseling and

directed the program understood the people who were being directed and counseled. I thought that was a definite plus.

Moreover, she sympathized with counterculture as a

rebellion that probably was necessary. The Establishment can be pretty much at odds with humanity and I respect [the counterculture's] openness and honesty and attempts to look at life from a more caring, human standpoint.<sup>3</sup>

PYA was as well known for its countercultural advocacy. In the fall of 1970 PYA recognized the "potential of the new culture" and listed its advocacy among its three general aims. It saluted the hip community as "a sub-community rich in talent, craftsmanship, and idealism, which would have a great deal of enrichment to offer if it were not short-circuited by the frustration it faces from the outside." It offered to "support the generation" by encouraging the new culture's development and aid institutions "seeking to adopt and change their institutional structures to meet the demands of the new age." The Scribe described PYA in 1975 as an "institution within the alternative community." Anderson confirmed that throughout its history CC was "very sympathetic with [its] clients while the Establishment is not necessarily sympathetic with kids who take drugs, get spaced out, and do bizarre things."<sup>4</sup>

From the outset PYA was also estranged from established institutions. In the fall of 1970 PYA felt that longhaired clients were likely to find community agencies "complex and hostile." Thompson remembered that PYA was "opposed to developing a structure that would provide a basis for ongoing local or Federal funding . . . They wanted to make it as simple and uncomplicated a system as they could . . . They didn't want to be tied into a network of rules and regulations." By 1973 Cron

was complaining to Rich Straub that staff members, in Straub's words, were falling "prey to counter culture philosophy - that being fuck the system, fuck the bureaucrats type of attitude - which filters down to inability to keep records and statistics and balking about writing contracts, reports, etc." PYA assured NIMH in 1974 that it tried to serve clients "without a confusing matrix of institutional relationships and restrictions." The following year the Scribe noted the "quiet unaggressiveness of [PYA's] staff" regarding city politics. Even in its later years PYA maintained a distance from established institutions.

According to Young, CC at that time felt

very alienated from other social service agencies, so we operated in a whole lot of isolation . . . we were suspicious of the mental health community . . . We would become outraged by tales of how people were treated there when we believed we were treating them better . . .

CC aimed in 1977 to "offer the community an alternative to the established mental health system." Open Meadow understood PYA's mission in 1979 as providing "services which represented an alternative to traditional programs" because "not all youth have their needs met by these traditional programs." Parker didn't think CC was often "very amenable" to being evaluated against established mental health centers.<sup>5</sup>

Along these lines PYA and CC were skeptical about the necessity of formal credentials in social work and fundraising. Although four staff members in 1970 were undergraduate students, only three of eleven held college degrees; "staff members," the organization explained at the time, "are chosen not as much on the basis of education as other qualifications." In the fall of 1973 Cron faulted PYA's "disdain for education and experience." A year later the staff opposed the hiring of a

professional fundraiser despite PYA's grave financial situation: "A professional fund-raiser," they argued, "while no doubt privy to some 'professional' secrets and personal contacts, could not provide us with either the time or energy we expect from each other." Mainzer commented that the formal credentials of CC staff were minimal from 1976-77.<sup>6</sup>

PYA evolved a system of collective decision-making over its tenure. Jones and Cron attested that in PYA's early years its staff successfully evaded board control. Dubay recalled that the staff was "something of a family" in 1970 and "operated to a large extent by participatory democracy." By the fall of 1973 Cron was ridiculing this consensual structure as confusing and utopian; "it is difficult," he jibed, "to ascertain whether we are trying to perform a service or create a model government." By the summer, however, Cron was gone and his successor encouraged the further development of collective decision-making at the organizational and programmatic levels. PYA began consistently referring to its program directors as coordinators from 1974. And by 1975 the organization was flatly insisting that employees display "a commitment to working in a collective and cooperative manner, with shared decision-making and a relatively non-authoritarian structure." In the spring of 1976 the board criticized CC's unwieldy decision process but would not defend its coordinator's particular resistance to it. That summer PYA administrators proposed to replace the outgoing executive director with an administrative collective but the board objected. In 1978 the administration affirmed that it "coordinates and facilitates information sharing with individual programs, with work groups, with the PYA Board of Directors, and with the community."<sup>7</sup>

By the fall of 1976 CC became the first PYA program to eschew leaders; but it did create an executive council to expedite the decisions of its substantial membership. CC regained a program coordinator in its later years but maintained its commitment to collective decision-making. During the retreat of January 1979 staff and volunteers collectively revised the program. Parker thought that CC attempted to make "a lot of decisions on a collective basis that couldn't be made on a collective basis in a timely way." Schecter held that CC's commitment to collective structure was one of two features that distinguished it as an alternative program. During the retreat a CC worker identified "willingness to struggle with the collective process" as one of the program's strengths. That spring Open Meadow observed that PYA traditionally offered an "alternative to non-participatory hierarchy and control of individuals by systems."<sup>8</sup>

There is some evidence that PYA assumed moderately lenient attitudes regarding teenage sex, drug use, and long hair. Baxter observed two youths making out on a couch in the basement of the old Elks Temple in 1975. According to a CSD field representative in 1979, the staff of Out Front House was "little concerned" about the "very loose" segregation of boys and girls at the facility. The Oregonian reported in 1970 that "Contact workers do not . . . lecture their clients directly about drug use." The Forest Grove Police Department raided PYA's Group Home in January 1973, discovered some marijuana seeds, and charged its director with endangering the welfare of the youths under his care; the director was subsequently acquitted. The organization, in addition, initially appeared to defend the employment rights of youths with long

hair. McNassar listed finding jobs, "especially for longhairs," as one of the five objectives of the Contact task force in January 1970. That fall PYA argued that "employers refuse to hire long hairs and the resulting poverty can create health and welfare problems which force reliance on community agencies . . ." According to a CSD field representative, all of the male staff at Out Front House had long hair.<sup>9</sup>

PYA disdained money, limited its employees to humble compensation, and eschewed displays of comfortable means. An administrative memo in 1978 stated that: ". . . we need to challenge the values [of this society] - specifically the value that money is all-powerful and that those who have it can control the thoughts and actions of those who don't." A staff memo in 1974 maintained that PYA's strength derived from "competent, concerned individuals working hard at extremely low wages." The author recalls that Family Circus proposed in 1975 that all PYA employees receive the same wage. Although this suggestion was rejected by Coordinators council, by 1978 PYA was claiming that salaries within programs had been equalized. On his visit in 1975, Baxter noticed "old beat-up davenports that looked like stuff they wouldn't even give to you if you went to the Goodwill." Similarly in the winter of 1979 a CSD field representative found Out Front House "substandard in . . . furnishings and general appearance . . . Some of the furniture should be burned." Ten months later the furniture still remained. "Some of the old furniture I asked them to dispose of," the representative complained, "is now in the basement."<sup>10</sup>



## POLITICAL ATTITUDES

PYA's essential political attitude was its militant youth advocacy. Before considering PYA's and CC's youth advocacy, concepts of youth advocacy will be stated. Historically, traditional social service agencies offered clients such assistance that the agency could afford and deemed helpful. Keh et al. recount, however, that social progress in the mid-sixties transformed some social work professionals. There burgeoned in America at that time, they narrate, a "renewed interest in rights and entitlements . . . and a national emphasis on self-help and participatory democracy . . ." In response to these challenges, some "social workers borrowed the concept of advocacy from the legal profession and developed the role of client advocate." By 1967 the notion appeared in the social work literature: Grosser argued that the appropriate "posture" for a productive community worker is that of "advocate of the client group's point of view . . . He is, in fact, a partisan in a social conflict. His expertise is available exclusively to serve client interests." The authors further remark that client advocacy was coincidentally applied to disadvantaged youth by New York's Mobilization for Youth.<sup>11</sup>

The extension of client advocacy to hip youth followed the formation of hip culture in San Francisco (see Countercultural Attitudes). Pepell points out that the evolution of counterculture "strained the ability of traditional youth service agencies to reach young people . . . They were called on to revitalize their programs so they could deal with the pressing concerns of young people." By 1967 San Francisco

State University had launched LSD Rescue Service for imbibers of psychedelics and a consortium of local churches had begun Huckleberry's for Runaways for runaway youth. Two years later Huckleberry's became a general youth resource center, adopted youth advocacy as its essential goals, and separately incorporated as Youth Advocates. As Youth Advocates later put it:

Advocacy counseling is the process through which all our services are created and delivered. Advocacy counselors relate to their clients like attorneys. They upfront take the young person's side, especially in dealing with establishment systems, and help them implement their own decisions . . . Traditional agencies and court-controlled youth centers make life decisions for young people by limiting their choices. We respect their right to make up their own minds, and we offer them as many options as we can.

Youth Advocates, of course, did not consider youth advocacy endemic to San Francisco. ". . . we want to have as wide as an impact as we can," it assured its sponsors. "We think we can change it for kids in Philadelphia by doing our one-to-one number here in a way that others can do it there and elsewhere differently. If we are together, people will see that and trust it, and try it themselves."<sup>12</sup> Yet it was not Philadelphia where youth advocacy next occurred. Ten months after it appeared in San Francisco, C-YM metamorphosed into PYA.

The Charix board had listed youth advocacy as one of its three objectives in the spring of 1969 (see Chapter I) and had considered youth advocacy the primary objective for the projected PYA. In reviewing the fall of 1969 PB observed that Charix supervisor Van Deusen

is fairly cooperative [with PB] but identifies with the children, She is well aware of the records of [six youths with records] but she feels they are 'good kids' and will

not exclude them from the Charix. As a matter of fact, every time anyone is arrested, a collection is taken at the door to raise bail for the person.

C-YM did not specifically recruit PB officers for PYA's board; Thompson felt that it would prove to be a "weakness" over the years "that somebody from the Court or the police . . . was not directly involved in any of [PYA's] planning." C-YM's directors stated that the goals of PYA were to "enable young adults to determine their own needs and to program accordingly" and to procure funds, staff, and community support for such projects. Projects were to be accomplished through sundry task forces composed of over ten young adults, one or two board members, and a staff member. C-YM also aimed to ally innovative youth services by inviting independent organizations such as Outside In and Seven of Diamonds into PYA. Although the PYA board would provide significant assistance to all task forces, C-YM proposed that it not dictate program content.

Thompson remarked that PYA's "perspective" in its early years entailed "trying to deal with young people in a direct and open and straightforward manner." He also observed that the organization's representatives tended to accept the bias of their clients in their dealings with MCJC. In the winter of 1972 PYA attempted to organize a Youth Advocacy Board consisting of youth service professionals, a PYA representative, a youth representative, a minority representative, a government representative, and a physician. The board initially considered eight possible objectives, including assisting juveniles in court, helping other organizations pursue youth advocacy, demonstrating the need for additional alternative services, and conducting a media campaign. In the spring of 1972 the Runaway Program offered emancipation

counseling to "self-sufficient" 16 or 17 year olds; it moreover confirmed that it encouraged juveniles to "make their own decisions and take responsibility for them . . . We are only facilitators." In the spring of 1974 PYA claimed that CC's youth advocacy had two elements: furnishing direct services and persuading traditional agencies to meet the requirements of youth. Regarding its own services, PYA held that it offered assistance "without resorting to procedures which label, categorize, and pre-judge individuals"; rather it placed "a great deal of reliance upon the individual adolescent's ability to motivate himself for adaptive change." With respect to established youth services, the organization struck a political stance:

"The staff is committed to a continuing effort to influence the quality and direction of youth oriented services . . . we are directed towards system change . . . the staff is active in national and local groups, workshops and conventions involving youth service systems."<sup>13</sup>

Concomitant with PYA's youth advocacy in its early years was its altercation with PB regarding PYA's policy towards runaway youth. Following the lead of Huckleberry's in San Francisco, the GPCC Summer Youth Program adopted a flexible policy towards runaway youth (see Chapter I). Clients were permitted to assess their options without being reported to the police; they could return to their parents, seek parental permission to enter a foster home, remand themselves to a juvenile court, or return to the streets without consequence. This policy was continued by PYA through 1970 but modified in 1971 to permit police appraisings of the organization's contacts with runaways. Carney indicated that up until 1971 PB was "perturbed" about PYA's "new and

different" policy towards runaways.

The basic problem we had is that in this state a runaway child is actually in violation of the law . . . And there is also a harboring law that says that no one should keep a child when they know that child is a runaway. And yet in some of these organizations that started up (I believe the Contact Center when it started) would take them in and know they were runaways and try to work with them but not report it either to the police or the court. Now I'm sure they thought that their method was good and maybe these kids would take off [if reported] but it seemed to us that they had some obligation to comply with the law.

In reviewing the fall of 1969 PB noted that C-YM's Switchboard-Runaway director, McNassar, "has never contacted WPD about a runaway and will not give us information about particular children when he is contacted by us"; McNassar continued to manage runaway and referral services through April 1970 as director of PYA's Contact task force. Meier admitted that PYA was involved in "some struggles dealing with the police right at first, in terms of the Runaway Program more than anything." Thompson confirmed that the tenets of PYA's Runaway Program did not at the outset have "general public acceptance". It is difficult, however, to find reference to resistance to police departments by PYA after 1973. Yet Parker felt that over its history CC had "set up an adversary situation [with the police] and maintained it all the way through . . . I was sure that they had sort of a chronic ongoing adversary situation with the police." And Anderson added that throughout its tenure "CC probably maintained an aloofness from the police and probably a very faintly and probably scarcely disguised animosity towards the police." She felt such attitudes by CC were justified, however, because "during those days I think the police were defensive and very much wary of kids and dissension and all these other things . . . Those days were

certainly the days of police antsiness."<sup>14</sup>

As mentioned, PYA also at times favored collective leadership and decision making and equalized wages within programs (see Countercultural Attitudes); in its later years such attitudes appeared influenced by Marxian notions. An administrative memo in 1978 observed that:

It seems we [of the Coordinators council] have some unity around the desire for social change - achieved through humanistic approaches . . . To promote social change we need to challenge the existing ideas and systems that our society values . . . Those individuals in power (be they institutions, corporations, capitalists, whoever) control the economics of this society. As long as we live by those systems (accept its values) we will be controlled by those economics . . .

The seed for social change is planted when the existing structure is visibly criticized - when the contradictions are made apparent . . . In order to 'visibly criticize', we (PYA) try to operate in ways which point out contradictions within our society and the values it holds . . .

Further evidence of Marxian influence is found in PYA's Criticism/Self-Criticism Workshop in February 1979. Criticism/Self-Criticism is a technique of collective decision making elaborated by the Chinese Communist party in the 1930s; PYA sought to apply the method to its programmatic and organizational decision making. To lead a five-day workshop on this process, PYA invited Ann Tompkins of San Francisco to Portland at a cost of \$1800; nearly thirty PYA workers participated at a cost of \$50 per workshop. Tompkins met separately with program workers and with workers as a whole. Of five readings recommended for the workshop, the leader included four works by Mao Tse Tung including Quotations, Five Essays on Philosophy, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," and "Combat Liberalism".

Parker remarked that CC was "trying to be a social change agent" as well as a counseling program.<sup>15</sup>

#### CLINICAL ATTITUDES

Parker held that in its later years CC maintained an allegiance to Gestalt therapy and experiential training. Before considering this, concepts of Gestalt therapy and experiential training will be stated.

The roots of Gestalt therapy may be found in Gestalt psychology. Von Ehrenfels argues that cognition consists of apprehension of a Gestalt (a holistic perception) followed by determination of its elements. Kohler and Wertheimer develop the principles of an experimental cognitive psychology based on the Gestalt concept. Perls et al. derive an existential psychotherapy from this tradition. The patient learns to continually discover personal holistic structures and to recreate experience from those themes; the process is eventually assumed with the guidance of a psychotherapist.<sup>16</sup>

Therapeutic training may employ didactic and experiential methods. Didactic methods typically inform the trainee of theoretical and clinical patterns of diagnosis and treatment. Experiential methods catalyze within a trainee those problematic experiences likely to be encountered by a therapist and suggest ways in which therapist and client may work to resolve these.

There is evidence that CC preferred experiential training throughout its history. Play-acting and role playing were employed at PYA meetings in 1970 to remedy performance deficiencies among workers. Role playing was employed at CC meetings in 1975 to maintain listening

skills. According to Schecter, CC emphasized experiential training in its later years:

We spent a large part of our time doing role plays: modeling a skill and having volunteers practice it over and over again using each other as client and counselor and always having them using real issues from their life. And the reason we did that was, one, it was a lot more effective . . . and [two,] to have our volunteers experience what it's like to be on the other end of a counseling encounter.

Parker felt that CC

spent a lot of energy training people just to talk to somebody, to reflect their statements back to them, this intensive listening sort of thing, and then stopped right there. The idea seemed to be that if you knew the technology right, then the overall strategy would take care of itself . . .

CC training included "fine detail on how to acquire certain information about people . . . but not much on what you do with it once you got it."

He attributed this experiential emphasis to an earnest allegiance to

Gestalt therapy that clouded the program's objectives:

I'm not at all sure that their mission was clear. They seemed to be more conducting a lifestyle than an operation. They seemed to have these particular values related to this [Gestalt] therapeutic school more than anything else and if the school didn't carry with it values or an objective in a situation, then they didn't have anything outside of that.<sup>17</sup>



## CHAPTER IX

### COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW

#### COMPETENCE

With the exception of Parker and Carney's evaluations, the study indicates that CC maintained good to excellent levels of performance in counseling, referral, and drop-in service. The program weekly received some 800 visitors and 1000 phone calls in the first period and was responsive to clients by offering, in addition to standard services, a bulletin board, a varied crashing service, and a tent camp. Dubay was impressed "even some ten years later by the energies, the intellectual capacities, and the sensitivity of a lot of the [PYA] staff." Although volunteers were largely uncredentialed and perfunctorily trained, they were close to CC's clientele of hip youth. Yet Carney recalled that PB was concerned that an organization employing novices and volunteers to counsel alienated youth might not work:

I think the difficulty I have with people that have quite a few voluntary people and new people working with young people [is that] I think young people are interesting but they're very complicated and I think they can really fool you, unless you've had some real background knowledge about it . . . I think that was one of the things that we were perturbed about, I would imagine, is that [PYA] was something new and something different and we really didn't know how competent the people were . . .

But the lieutenant was distant from PYA and, perhaps for that reason, did not specifically disparage its performance.<sup>1</sup>

Although CC's initial spontaneity waned a bit in the second period, this was to some degree offset by the advantages the program acquired at the old Elks Temple; its spacious suite now included private counseling rooms, recreational equipment, a storage room, and a ride board. While the crashing service became less versatile, the program's hours were expanded and new services were experimentally introduced, such as alcohol and employment counseling, drug analysis, and mobile crisis response. Although CC's clientele apparently decreased, more attention was paid to service quality: personnel were better credentialed and selected and training became more systematic. Moreover, the program assembled a detailed resource file to aid its referral work. CC performance treaded water during the third period as the program remained at the old Elks Temple. Staff continued to be better credentialed while training remained more systematic. CC records showed a modest increase in clientele. As the program moved to Lovejoy in the fourth period, it continued to aid hip youth but also to a greater degree served a more general population of poor young people; client requests became less concerned with drugs than with food, housing, clothing, transportation, and the law. Space limitations and a less accessible location precluded the maintenance of facilities for drop-ins. Volunteers derived from sundry backgrounds while training for both volunteers and staff became rigorous. All three respondents saluted programmatic competence during this period.

CC's final period was marked by harried change. Within 22 months the program was obliged to obtain three locations. Hotline service was expanded in the spring of 1978 only to be discontinued a year later.

Hours were changed several times. Drop-in counseling was discouraged, crashing service was reduced, and counseling fees were assessed. By the spring of 1979 the clientele had dropped precipitously. Yet even as CC retreated to short term (and limited long term) counseling, it struggled to maintain the quality of service it had achieved in the previous period. By May 1978 staff credentials included four graduate degrees in psychology or education while CETA budgets underwrote some staff training. Volunteers received thorough training in empathetic listening and client-centered response. A CETA representative noted that "other agencies place value on [CC's] training . . ."; on four occasions Raphael House invited CC staff to help train its workers. A CETA representative rated CC's performance in volunteer training in FY 78 as outstanding, although the following year another rated its performance in community mental health as only satisfactory.

As tart as Parker's criticism was, it granted CC certain points regarding its last period. He admitted that the program's staff included "probably a few good people . . . [and] a fair number that were trained and operated reasonably well within the range that they had," although adding that there were "some folks who seemed to have really bad opinions of what they did." He conceded that "as a minor Gestalt training program," CC's training was "pretty good," although adding that it neglected vital instruction in diagnosis and treatment, leaving volunteers critically unprepared. And, despite its faults, Parker felt that CC performed fairly well with healthy clients, although really badly with sick clients. If this last assessment were accurate, the ultimate measure of CC's performance would turn on how many of its

clients were mentally ill, a question regarding which this study discovered no indicative data.<sup>2</sup>

#### ORGANIZATION

Good performance was initially supported by satisfactory organization within PYA and CC. During the first period, Meier and Dubay respected each other and worked together well. Within CC, Meier was firm with bogus volunteers but enthusiastic and fair with the ten to twenty genuine ones. In addition to accomplishing business, PYA meetings were spontaneous, informal, participatory, and unifying. All three respondents highly rated morale within the organization. CC was significantly aided by its proximity to Arbuckle Flat during the second period. The program was also comfortable with PYA's consensus governance, formalized in the spring of 1974. Although often unwieldy, CC's own consensus governance assisted morale, as did "a certain feeling" among program workers that CC was "at the vanguard of social services".<sup>3</sup> The program increased its staff to three during this period and held frequent social gatherings in an effort to integrate its nearly two dozen volunteers. Efforts by the program coordinator to modify evolved collective governance divided the program during the third period, causing many dedicated volunteers to quit. Encouraging the coordinator to depart, moreover, led to his contributing his considerable talents at a critical time to what proved to be an earnest competitor for HEW funds. Yet CC's staff increased to eight and was determined at the period's close to reunify the program. The fourth period produced promising and ominous results regarding CC's organization. On one hand,

the program successfully fused an energetic and respected leadership team within the program's collective. At the same time, however, external developments and CC's shift in clientele caused PYA to doubt the program's validity and status within the organization: CC's leadership team, moreover, related only fairly well to PYA's executive director. Consequently, CC did not receive whole-hearted organizational support and morale was correspondingly shaky. This did not prevent the staff, however, from earnestly integrating volunteers during the period.

CC personnel swelled during its last period to as many as ten staff members and over two dozen volunteers. The staff functioned as a leadership collective within the program, reviving the position of coordinator to facilitate administration. The large number of workers made weekly meetings unwieldy; this and the closeness of the staff created substantial distance between staff and volunteers. But this was to a large degree offset by remarkable staff teamwork; Schechter persuasively argued that the staff had "an incredible trust level built up . . . Basically we all liked each other an incredible amount and it made working together, especially as a collective, uniquely smooth."<sup>4</sup>

Yet difficulties with PYA substantially cost CC during the period. The board continued to dispute CC's change of clientele, threatening towards the end of the period to expel the program if it did not resume concentrating on youth. And, after CC obtained funds for a youth alcohol component in 1978, PYA decided to steer those funds into a new program.

MEDIATION WITH THE EXTERNAL LANDSCAPE: PLANNING,  
COMMUNITY RELATIONS, AND FUNDING

CC's performance regarding planning, community relations, and funding appeared to complement each other; for this reason, this review considers them as a collective factor - mediation with the external landscape.

And it was CC's faltering mediation with the external landscape that was far more damaging to it than its quite able competence and organization. The most glaring example of this was the program's chronic disinclination to forecast coming challenges and devise appropriate responses. During the first period, Meier entrusted responsibility for budgets and proposals to PYA. But Dubay admitted that PYA was not at the outset involved in "a good deal of long term planning." And PYA's later planning in the period emphasized the founding of new programs rather than the revision of old ones. Nevertheless, Cron's negotiations for OCRI funding in 1972 were sufficiently lucrative as to substantially improve CC: by the fall the program found itself with a spacious suite, private counseling rooms, recreational equipment, and a storage room - all adjacent to a lively coffee house for youth at a handy downtown location. And by the following spring PYA's discussions with OYDS were considering the conversion of CC into a permanent YSC.

But that incorporation did not materialize and YSD had some justification in stating that "the decision not to proceed further on establishing a Downtown Youth Service Center should come as no surprise"; public contracting, of course, is often speculative. After PYA was descheduled, it augmented its profile in municipal politics. But with

the exception of precarious grant applications, CC did not until 1978 articulate a credible new role for itself outside of the city's YSC system. Yet there was a politic reason to do so: CC's identity as a counseling agency for hip youth was fast becoming inexpedient. Parker pointed out that social interest in street people waned as the decade progressed. Even PYA's board wondered in 1976 whether CC had "outlived" its usefulness.<sup>5</sup>

After arriving on the east side, CC did fashion itself a fresh image; it saw itself first as an alternative community mental health center largely for poor young people and finally as a possible adult outpatient clinic in the Southeast. But this was a problematic revision. PYA rankled at the idea of supporting a program that did not concentrate on youth. And, with the exception of county alcohol officials, public mental health administrators failed to embrace the center.

CC's maladroitness forecasting was accompanied by increasingly flawed public relations. From the fall of 1970 its funding efforts were aided by letters from the governor and a city commissioner, a resolution by county commissioners, and an editorial in the Oregonian. It was also no secret in 1973 that OYDS was contemplating incorporating PYA into the city's youth service system. From the summer of 1974, however, PYA's image was shaken. Publicity regarding the discovery of bone fragments in its basement raised questions about the tightness of its supervision. YSD's decision to deschedule PYA was embarrassing to the organization. And while PYA petitioned the city earnestly and to some effect regarding

descheduling, it could not regain its projected status within the YSC system and was somewhat stigmatized as a result.

By the third period, PYA's sagging fortunes were affecting CC's. Kaufman complained that "most people" doubted CC's legitimacy, "City Hall didn't see us as a real viable, credible organization," and although CC had "some credibility . . . , it only came about in a real pinch. It was like a stepchild, you know . . . ." Yet throughout the remainder of its history, CC made no impressive efforts to specifically improve its public relations. During the fourth period CC's community profile benefitted, of course, from Kaufman's award, Hobart's article, and KGW-TV's coverage. Close relationships, moreover, with TCC and William Temple House forged exactly the kind of ties that CC sorely needed. But the extensive press coverage accorded the program's bucket drive cut both ways: it revealed, to be sure, a retained affection for CC among journalists but underscored the center's spurious status within the city's community mental health network. Mainzer argued that CC appeared to be a "leftover" from the sixties: "They had no gloss . . . . They didn't have a solid program." Mason felt the program was impressive but conceded that CC's "contact in the community was limited."

CC's final period summarized the growing isolation felt by the program since 1976. An attempt to establish an alliance with other response agencies under MCMHD-MED's auspices failed, as did a bid to supplement MCMHD-MED's outpatient service. Some of those dealing with CC complained to Parker of "running into disorganization and general fuzziness . . . ." And three moves in less than two years wrecked any location familiarity the program may have acquired; Parker remarked that



CC was "not very available. Sometimes we had trouble finding out where they were."<sup>6</sup>

Increasingly hampered by imperfect planning and flagging public relations, funding CC steadily became an arduous challenge. From 1970 through 1972, PYA was able to procure a formidable grant from OCRI and substantial church donations to assist CC and other programs. From 1974 through 1979, the organization obtained lucrative CETA support, sharing a good deal of it with CC. Moreover, PYA did not emerge empty-handed from its contest with the city in 1975: in addition to accelerated P-CETA support (a pattern that continued for over three years), the organization was treated to having the city assume its rent and utilities payments through June 1976.

While this basic funding profile guaranteed CC's survival through 1979, it was marred by critical flaws. The first was the program's habit of depending on PYA for funding initiatives. Meier confessed he "wasn't that much interested in budgets and proposals." Groner and Shapiro assumed greater responsibility. By late 1976, however, CC was again dependent on PYA for major solutions to its chronic fiscal plight. But PYA had none - in fact, at times it didn't want to consider any! As mentioned, the board in September wondered whether CC had "outlived its usefulness." And Mainzer

didn't see them as being a program to put a whole lot of energy into . . . I saw no hope to fund it because there was no place for it, because other places were doing the same service . . .

Another difficulty was that CETA support to non-profit organizations was a transitory historical phenomenon. CC appeared to recognize

this when it stated in 1978 that "one of our overall goals is to get a hard cash funding base." And Schecter admitted that while CETA funding at times made CC complacent, the staff well knew that CC must ultimately "get off the heroin of CETA."<sup>7</sup>

But on to what? PYA received its generous grant from OCRI "in order to make contact with runaway and other alienated youth" between 1972 and 1977 through drop-in, hotline, and runaway counseling. Overhead support from the city in FY 1976 was essentially to compensate PYA for being descheduled by YSD. CETA grants were available in the late seventies to non-profit organizations. By the end of the decade, however, these sorts of sources were no longer available. Runaway and hotline funding was being retained by EMO and MCIS. Foundations, according to Anderson, "were only interested in giving to a program that was kind of experimental and new . . . Funding for a new program seemed to be more easily obtained than for a program that was on its feet . . .". Non-profit organizations were finding CETA monies difficult to obtain. And, as Parker noted, the plight of countercultural and street youth had disappeared as a major issue of social concern.

Anderson recalled that "towards the end" CC was "really ready to revamp the whole program" in order to attract new funding sources; "they saw the handwriting certainly before we did being very close to it." There is evidence, of course, that CC began rethinking its niche in the local funding system as early as the winter of 1978. Friedman described a "change of emphasis" to "family counseling" in January. By the spring the program was explaining that its "services have changed to respond to the different needs of the community and that its current purpose was

"to offer the community an alternative to the established mental health system (county, private) which many of our clients find inaccessible or too expensive." In the spring of 1979 CC sought to aid MCMHD as a "creative, cost-effective" outpatient mental health center serving Southeast adults.

Yet, as Schecter conceded, "there has never been a lot of funds available for mental health in terms of foundation support and public funding. It's not a very popular item." And Mainzer held that, to attract funding in the seventies, a human services program had to be client-specialized:

It's like you have to have the 'in' thing. What was the 'in' thing in the seventies? To be doing things for the elderly, to be doing things for the handicapped . . . If you weren't specialized, you were in trouble.

Not surprisingly, neither the city, county, state, nor foundation sources tangibly responded to CC's new mission. The program had metamorphosed in a void.<sup>8</sup>

#### SPECIAL EFFECTS

The study indicates that PYA and CC's special attitudes (see Chapter VIII) produced special effects. These special effects may have contributed to PYA and CC's increasingly troubled mediation with the external landscape.

PYA and CC's countercultural attitudes elicited various responses. During the first period politicians and funding sources generally appeared impressed by PYA's initiative in establishing rapport with hip youth. Governor McCall credited the organization for being "responsive

to the life styles adapted by many of these youngsters." Commissioner Goldschmidt saluted its "highly and readily accessible service to youth."

And TCC concluded that:

PYA reaches a segment of the youth population who are alienated from the main stream community including its social, health, educational, and other services.

When individuals among the new culture experience problems . . . PYA because it is identified with the new culture can effectively assist and arrange for or refer the individual for medical, psychological, social, legal, or judicial counseling or services.

Such regard was not unanimous: Mayor Schrunk's executive assistant neutrally described PYA as an organization that "doesn't fit into the usual bracket of youth programming that the [Summer 71] committee usually deals with" and mentioned that the committee "tended to disagree with some of their programs and plans." In the spring of 1975, moreover, PSO resisted the notion of funding PYA while it served hip youth. Kish questioned whether "transient kids who in some cases do not even come from the city of Portland" should receive city services. The author recalls that a Neighborhood Associations Office coordinator explained PSO's opposition to funding PYA as a consequence of PYA's "counterculture" clientele.<sup>9</sup>

Although there is only evidence of countercultural members working for CC during the first period, the program retained a reputation as a hippie-run agency throughout its tenure. Kaufman said that "most people thought of it as a hippie kind of outfit." Schecter admitted that

overall our reputation was an alternative, hippie street agency. For the years that I was there, CC's reputation was a carryover a lot from the middle years of the seventies and it took a lot of work convincing people that we weren't

quite like that any more and we were doing some different stuff. Unfortunately we still looked like everybody did from the [middle] seventies. . . .

PYA's distance from established institutions received some praise in the second period. The Scribe lamented that because CC was close to its clients, it appeared "less official to the bureaucratic models of thinking." A Vanguard columnist complained that PYA's reputation as a "citizen-run" rather than bureaucratic agency may have compromised its standing with the city. Parker contended that, in its later years, CC's clinical attitudes rather caused it to define city and county officials as

nonhuman bureaucrats who were not going to ever do the right thing . . . And in approaching [these officials] as if they were a problem . . . it made those city and county officials feel real bad. . . .<sup>10</sup>

PYA's collective decision process as well did not go unnoticed. The Scribe commended PYA as a "tightly integrated institution" in 1975. Rice noted in the third period that PYA "appears to place greater emphasis on collective decision-making" than EMO. Kaufman pointed out that such observations often harmed CC:

City Hall didn't see us as a real viable, credible organization. Part of that with the city was functioning as a collective; a lot of big organizations want to deal with a figurehead, they don't want to deal with the collective process.

Such disinclination could be found within PYA itself when the concept of collective decision making was broadened to include the notion of collective leadership. Mainzer complained that during the fourth period CC never had "any one strong person . . . For me, as an administrator, it could be difficult because there wasn't any one central person that I

could talk to." During the final period a CSD team conceded that the "concept of a collective is a valid and interesting one" but was not operating satisfactorily at Out Front House; for it to do so, they argued, staff members would need to take more initiative and employ a professional consultant.<sup>11</sup>

As mentioned, there was some evidence that PYA assumed moderately lenient attitudes towards teenage drug use and long hair; to the degree that PYA acquired a reputation for such moderation, these attitudes at times affected the organization's community relations. Thompson observed that during the first period PB saw PYA as an "interfering agent" that was "turning the kids on to various negative activities: drugs, communal living, whatever else their fears or concerns were." The Forest Grove Police Department raided the organization's Group Home for drugs in 1973. Out Front House's reputation worried a CSD representative in 1974. After meeting with the house's staff, he recounted that:

our general concern at the meeting lay in the area of public relations . . . the Out Front staff will encourage the children placed there to promote good public relations by being more careful about what they say in public. For example, a statement such as "Everybody is stoned at Out Front House" is neither true nor good public relations.

In summary, the few complaints received [by CSD about Out Front] are not considered excessive considering the number of children placed at Out Front. Also, unfortunately, their type of program and even the fact that all of the male staff have long hair seem to set them up for some misunderstandings and perhaps bad feelings from the community, particularly from the parents of children placed there . . .

The following year, during the dispute between PYA and HRB regarding descheduling, Frankel asserted that PYA's "image among law enforcement

officers is somewhat tainted, due to their efforts in youth drug control and runaway counseling."

The CSD representative in 1974 agreed that Out Front House should "encourage children to develop some degree of independence and responsibility." But four years later the division's evaluating team pointed out that the "population in group care is changing . . . At this point the children are more dependent and much less able to handle the independence and freedom that traditionally has been part of the program at Out Front House." In late 1979 a CSD representative complained that as a result of loose segregation of boys and girls at Out Front House, "apparently there have been some unacceptable incidents." CSD placed Out Front House on probation as a professional group home from October 1978-March 1979, alleging deficiencies in discipline and facilities.<sup>12</sup>

At times PYA's youth advocacy was specifically remarked and responded to. In January 1970 PB Chief Donald I. McNamara told the mayor that the Charix would not exclude youths with records of drug and sex offenses and that it was:

extremely difficult to make arrests inside the Charix for several reasons. First of all, our presence is always announced. Therefore, most illegal activity ceases before we get downstairs. Secondly, the officer who attempts to remove anyone from the Charix is in great peril because of the hostility expressed by the patrons and the lack of cooperation on the part of the supervisors. . . .

In addition, "every time anyone is arrested at the Charix or when a patron of the Charix is arrested, a collection is taken at the door to raise bail for the arrested person." "It is apparent," the chief concluded, that "the Charix is fostering social ills plaguing the

younger generation." Two months later PYA concluded that a major police raid of the Charix was imminent and closed the facility. Two years later the chief's attitude towards PYA had mellowed considerably, after the Charix had been closed and the Outreach program had impressed Central Precinct: ". . . Although these people are not necessarily police oriented or sympathetic to strict law enforcement," he wrote the mayor,

they have in the past been very effective in keeping the peace in potential conflicts in the parks during the summer months. I believe if there are any [summer] funds available the Contact Center should be given consideration.

Cron told Straub in 1973 that PYA's good relations with Central Precinct expired with Capt. Reiter's transfer in April 1972. Groner confirmed that HRB claimed in 1974 that "the police didn't think much of us . . . they'd say, 'Well, Captain Walker, blah-blah, blah-blah, they don't like you downtown.'" Baxter felt that one of the reasons PYA may have been descheduled in 1974 was "the fact that [HRB] felt they just didn't have the rapport or communication with the Police Bureau . . .; McNannay confirmed that police evaluations of YSC candidates were seriously considered.<sup>13</sup>

Response was varied to PYA's militancy in its dispute with the city in 1975. The Scribe reported approvingly that "the Center demands its right to survive." The Vanguard saluted PYA's "tough professional campaign to win its survival." But Baxter felt such action alienated PYA from HRB:

By the vindictive way they were going at it, it wasn't the kind of people that you would then want to turn around and have working for you . . . It's just not an example that



you'd want set for a youth service center that deals with families and kids.

In May 1976 Commissioner Jordan supported EMO's application for HEW funds and argued that the GPCC Runaway program had discontinued being successful after it became part of C-YM and PYA.

Parker observed that in its final period CC's clinical attitudes rather caused it to believe that public officials

were not going to ever do the right thing unless somebody hit them with a pick handle or something . . . And in approaching [these officials] as if they were a problem and as if they needed to be coerced or scared or hassled, it made those city and county officials feel real bad. . . .<sup>14</sup>

Parker argued that the effects of CC's clinical attitudes in its later years was negative. To begin with, he contended, the program's devotion to Gestalt therapy and experiential training alienated public officials who typically did not share these outlooks:

It seemed to confer upon them a dreadful certainty about what they were about. They knew damn well what the truth was and the way things ought to be and felt free to get fairly rough with people who didn't see it that way . . . They came upon you with this religious zealot level of belief that their view of their world was right and that makes a poor impression from the outset . . . They were really hard to get in contact with because they had already defined so many things that other people were . . . And that made them real hard to deal with.

Secondly, he continued, because CC's experiential training failed to teach volunteers diagnosis and treatment, it caused some of the center's trainees to feel stranded in the field and resign from the program. And thirdly, Parker added, because CC applied the principles of Gestalt therapy to both healthy and sick clients, the program's treatment of sick clients was not competent. As Parker saw it, Gestalt therapy is "fairly appropriate for reasonably intelligent, highly verbal, middle

class or better, educated people who aren't very sick". Yet CC was "tangling with a street population that included schizophrenia, and major neurological changes from drug abuse, and a whole bunch of stuff that Gestalt really doesn't have very much to do with at all . . ." The result, Parker imagined, was client and worker frustration. ". . . this whole business of having a very specific trip and yet trying to deal with a much wider range of people," Parker concluded, ". . . was really very striking I guess to some people . . . and . . . I think left quite a bit of opinion that what they were doing towards the end had declined in quality rather badly."<sup>15</sup>

#### CONTACT CENTER'S DEMISE

The expiration of city Contract 16473 ("Twenty-four Hour Hotline") in December 1978 was a turning point for CC. Without substantial funding, the program felt it could not properly operate a day and night hotline. Yet the staff had recently resolved to discontinue seeking CETA funding (see Mediation). And the operative source for non-CETA hotline funding, MCMHD-MED, had preferred the MCIS consortium to CC. Did it make sense, then, for CC to struggle to duplicate MCIS' service?

As mentioned, CC decided it didn't. At a retreat held the following month, the program aimed to abandon its hotline and specialize in short term counseling; funding would be sought from foundations and public sources to underwrite a short-term counseling center. By April the plan was in effect: the hotline was suspended and numerous funding requests were lodged, including the bid to assist MCMHD-MED as an outpatient clinic. By spring's end, however, it was clear that the

applications would prove unsuccessful. On June 14 the staff informed Coordinator's council that it was planning to close the center. The choice had been made by the program's reduced staff of three and a couple of former staff members serving as volunteer counselors.

CC's letter to friends the following week was not without some drama. It reminded them that "For the last ten years the Contact Center has fought to provide a variety of needed services to the community with integrity and caring" but explained with "great sadness" that the staff had "not been able to secure enough new funding to provide the quality of service that we feel is essential." It listed its termination schedule and thanked them for "the support you've given us over the years."<sup>16</sup>

During the summer CC offered limited short-term counseling but largely focused on smoothly transitioning clients to other programs. To ease their own transition, a group of the two remaining staff members and about five volunteers participated in a "grieving workshop" under the direction of therapist Steve Zahm; Zahm assisted the workers in resigning their commitments to the program so that they might assume new roles without bitterness or guilt.

CC's last day of service was September 14. That evening the author, who had recently returned from the East Coast to complete his final year as a graduate assistant at this School, attended a funeral for CC at a residence near the old Odd Fellows Home. It was only through being invited to the funeral that the author had learned of CC's fate. The funeral was a party.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion that can be drawn from a naturalistic ex post facto case study is limited. A single case may be aberrant. A naturalistic study permits an examined outcome to be affected by myriad factors. An ex post facto approach is vulnerable to post hoc fallacies. This particular study is as well bound by the parameters of its records, sampling, and response. PYA records were often incomplete. Government records had often been discarded or purged; the author suspects that others are extant while their retention is denied. While efforts were made by the author to thoroughly interview a representative, albeit manageable, sample of respondents, a large research staff could have pursued an exhaustive interview schedule in several cities that might have been able to cull replies from nearly all of the important actors on the stage of CC's history; this would have likely created a voluminous amount of conflicting testimony that might have made it possible to delineate factional, as well as personal, opinion within PYA and outside organizations. Response was, as usual, imperfect. Questions raised by the author required respondents to recall details from a previous decade. Many times they declined to try; it was difficult to determine how many times they guessed on the basis of incorrectly recalled facts.

Moreover, the study is restricted by conceptual limitations. Solely identifying the subject's perpetuation as the study's problem methodologically neglects the influence the subject may have had on the local community mental health network and its own members; in the end, such influence might ultimately be what renders the subject significant.

Stipulating such factors as funding and community relations often determines their vitality; in any case, excluding client evaluation as a factor makes it difficult to compare the internal and external etiology of the subject's decline. The study does not identify funding sources as a separate category of response; inasmuch as perpetuation is the study's problem, this somewhat reduces the work's ability to respond to the question. And whereas the use of only five time periods is undoubtedly economic, it is fictitious to maintain that CC stood still - or even still enough - especially between October 1972-June 1975. This was a period of great activity for the program; yet the research design is doomed to miss much of the action by attempting to cover 33 months with only three sources.

CC was ostensibly unable to survive in Portland because neither PYA nor it could easily enough procure relatively stable sources of general funding for the program. Church donations dwindled after PYA left Koinonia House. The OCRI grant expired in 1975, NYAP's and the city's the following year. Auspicious bids to HRB (1973-76), NIMH (1974), MCMHD-AD (1975, 1977), HEW (1976), MCMHD-MED (1978), LEAA (1978), and MCMHD (1979) all failed. A second request to MCMHD-AD in 1977 succeeded but PYA withheld the funds from CC and assigned them to a new program.

There were reasons, of course, why these funding applications failed, or, once granted, were transferred. Three were made to sources that awarded the funds to local competitors - EMO, YMCA, MCIS. This raises the question of the relative appeal of CC's rivals, which can

only be answered in a comparative study. Two were made to public sources which ultimately postponed consideration. As mentioned, such delays are common in public funding but could be addressed in a structural study of public fiscal policies. Two of the applications submitted were lodged at PYA initiative; hence their rejection indicates very little. And for reasons mentioned (see Chapter VII), an MCMHD-AD grant was transferred by PYA. Had it not been, CC would have had the option in 1979 of continuing at least as a youth alcohol program. To be sure, this would not have perpetuated CC as this study knows it but it would have made the resumption of the traditional program possible in the future. There is also a remote chance that MCMHD-AD funds could somehow have been used to credibly float both the traditional program as well as the youth alcohol component.

Assuming however, that none of the above reasons was crucial, one returns to the loss of key grants to EMO, YMCA, and MCIS and to the chronic failure from the second period to procure sufficient, stable general funds from local foundations and government departments. In this arena, the deterioration of PYA and CC's mediation with the external landscape is likely partly at fault. Both PYA and CC lacked the political power within and without government to influence these awards. They at times projected an image of disunity, disorganization, and obsolescence. They were frequently either not able or willing to intuit and provide what officials required from them. And they were either not able nor willing to outguess the human services market by planning today to offer the services that will be in demand tomorrow.

It is possible, in addition, that CC was negatively discriminated

against because it performed too well in certain areas; the fact that the program's competence was generally rated highly in its last periods certainly does not dispel this suspicion. There is further indirect evidence: CC's low wages and recognition by observers of its staff's dedication suggest a program whose austerity and commitment could have been a threat to an established mental health network whose members may have been defensive about costing more and accomplishing less. But to define and measure this factor would entail a structural study of community mental health.

It is likewise difficult to assess to what degree PYA and CC's special attitudes affected their mediation with the external landscape. There is some evidence that these attitudes impeded their mediatory performance by inclining members to neglect or abbreviate their community relations, planning, and fundraising. There is certainly evidence that various funding sources were conscious of various of these attitudes and often disapproved of some of them. Most critical, apparently was PYA's early conflict with police regarding runaways, PYA and CC's collective process, and PYA and CC's distance from established agencies. The question of established organizational response to countercultural, radical, or humanistic organizational attitudes requires further research with sophisticated social psychological tools.

Yet even without such research, one cannot help but suspect that PYA and CC's special attitudes played an even greater role than indicated in shaping internal performance and external response to that performance. Much of that suspicion is based on the contrived outcomes of some of their major funding solicitations: an incorporation is

postponed, a county-fostered alliance is dissolved, a grant is awarded to a less recently experienced competitor. Unfortunately, deviant attitude-reaction systems are generally poorly indicated by participants and observers operating in neutral settings: the former find it impolitic to fully confess the attitudes and reactions, the latter find it impolitic to implicate others. Nevertheless, one emerges from this review with a hunch that the particular attitude-reaction system suggested by this study, once defined and measured, might dramatically correlate with CC's felled fortunes. To encourage consideration of the implications of such phenomena, this dissertation's concluding chapter will further explore the tension between some of the described attitudes and organizational success in the modern social environment.

#### EULOGY

In its 109 months CC may have answered over a quarter million phone calls, counseled thousands of youngsters, trained hundreds of volunteers, and employed three dozen young adults in the salutary occupation of community mental health. It directly contributed to the success of sundry community agencies by countlessly referring its callers or drop-ins to them. Throughout its tenure it always welcomed and served transients and travelers. At times it was able to look for people to help in the streets and in the parks. In 1974 it began Oregon's first youth alcohol program. Nearly three years later it planned what was to become Mainstream and some of its staff helped launch the new program the following spring. Although substantially altered, Mainstream continues at this writing to serve Portland youth as



an independent nonprofit corporation. Along with the thousands CC aided, it is part of the rich legacy CC bequeathed to its city.

## CHAPTER X

### TOWARDS A STRATEGY OF ALTERNATIVE SUCCESS

#### SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

There is a small but thoughtful literature on the concept and practice of what is often called alternative human service. Each source portrays the phenomenon somewhat differently; this dissertation synthesizes their descriptions in the next section of this chapter.

The origins of hip human service agencies are recounted in histories of Haight-Ashbury in the mid-sixties by Wolfe, Cavan, and Yablonsky and in Brecher's chapter on indigenous institutions. Smith and Luce summarize the course of the Haight Ashbury Free Medical Clinic. Beggs capsullizes the development of Huckleberry's for Runaways through 1968; Youth Advocates continues the story through 1973.<sup>1</sup>

Out of the initiatives in San Francisco grew a national network of countercultural youth, medical, and counseling services. Smith et al. edit a collection of papers presented to the initial symposium of the National Free Clinic Council. Kolton et al. query 65 youth service agencies regarding their organization, process, personnel, and community relations. Glasscote et al. consider the personnel, clientele, and services of fourteen youth services. Holleb and Abrams review the adjustments of eight community mental health centers over five years with respect to organization, personnel, and treatment. Clark and Jaffe

examine the general structure, function, and mediation of alternate services for personal change. The San Deigo Community Congress publishes C/O: Journal of Alternative Human Services; its second volume contains forums that research and define the concept of alternative human service. Horowitz surveys the above literature for Western sociologists.<sup>2</sup>

The dilemmas of alternative human services are specifically discussed in several sources. Kanter and Zurcher edit a double issue of the Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences devoted to alternative institutions; their concluding essay addresses the question of evaluating such experiements. In the same issue, Jaffe discusses the difficulty of maintaining an alternative profile in youth services and community mental health. The journals Radical Therapist and Rough Times also analyze alternative human service; for a cogent political commentary on funding dilemmas faced by countercultural services in Massachusetts, for example, see Glenn's "Crisis in Counter Culture Institutions".<sup>3</sup>

Rosen contends in C/O that ". . . I think the essence of 'alternative' is really HOW WE ARE rather than WHAT WE DO"; she maintains that an agency's "staff process" indicates whether or not it has adopted an alternative approach. In a recent study of staff burnout, Cherniss suggests that alternative organizational designs are effective in reducing job stress in the human services. Yet Freudenberger concedes that staff burnout plagues alternative institutions as well and proposes several remedies.<sup>4</sup>

## THE ALTERNATIVE AGENDA

Offering an alternative human service is generally not primarily motivated by a desire to bait or gull the establishment; it is typically encouraged by an alternative rationale that challenges alleged assumptions of traditional human service.<sup>5</sup> This alternative rationale has its political roots in the client advocacy thrust within social work in the mid-sixties (see Chapter VIII) and its clinical roots in the radical therapy movement later in the decade.<sup>6</sup> Its elements and allegations appear to regard:

1. Representation. Historically, the traditional agency typically mediated between a client or client group and established institutions or between a client or client group and its own values and capabilities. The alternative agency typically acts as an advocate of a client or client group, regardless of whether such advocacy contradicts established institutions.

2. Clientele. Historically, traditional agencies often either patronized or were inhospitable to certain client groups. Alternative agencies have typically been anxious to collectively serve hip, gay, transient, and radical clients. Over the last decade both traditional and alternative agencies have also increasingly cultivated ethnic minority constituencies.

3. Personnel. Traditional agencies mostly employ credentialed middle class professionals. Alternative agencies typically employ young paraprofessionals who associate with the general client population.

4. Organization. Traditional agencies often employ authoritarian

and hierarchical organizational patterns. Alternative agencies typically aspire to participatory and egalitarian organizational patterns.

5. Fee. Traditional agencies often charge a fixed fee for their services. Alternative agencies either do not charge their clients or assess them on the basis of their ability to pay.

6. Budget. Traditional agencies typically receive substantial funding. Many alternative agencies subsist on a shoestring.

7. Facilities. Traditional agencies typically offer a proper, if sterile, decor in respectable facilities. Alternative agencies typically offer a colorful, if tattered, decor in humble facilities.

8. Confidentiality. Historically, traditional agencies have occasionally volunteered information about clients to law enforcement agencies. The typical alternative agency retains client confidences regardless of whether such retention displeases law enforcement agencies. Most alternative agencies do not require client identification or surnames.

9. Service Attitude. Many traditional agencies approach nontraditional clients bureaucratically and serve them formally and/or judgmentally. Alternative agencies approach clients personally and aspire to serve them naturally and supportively.

10. Service Scheduling. Traditional agencies typically require appointments often weeks in advance. Many alternative agencies offer drop-in service.

11. Service Mode. Historically, traditional agencies insisted on treating most clients in person. Suicide Prevention chapters pioneered telephone treatment in the early sixties; many alternative

agencies borrowed the technique later in the decade and continue to use it. Many traditional and alternative agencies employ outreach techniques. Many provide thorough referral service.

12. Treatment Mode. Historically, traditional medical clinics generally practiced orthodox occidental medicine. Alternative medical clinics often additionally practice naturopathy. Many alternative community mental health centers practice humanistic psychology in addition to other types of treatment.<sup>7</sup>

13. Politics. Traditional human service agencies refrain from partisan politics. Many alternative agencies are part of a local progressive political community and are either theoretically or actively political.

#### THE ALTERNATIVE PREDICAMENT

There are theoretical benefits to an alternative approach to human service. Advocate representation helps to fulfill the promise of democracy to disadvantaged or oppressed clients or client groups. Hospitality to special clientele aids the extension of human service to social minorities. Paraprofessionals are less expensive than professionals and identify with the client population. Participatory and egalitarian organizational aspirations increase morale and reduce stress of workers as well as contribute to a democratic society. Low fees make treatment accessible to low-income clients. Modest budgets and facilities exemplify economy. Informal and confidential service assures clients and gains their cooperation. Drop-in and hotline service makes treatment more accessible and less foreboding. The practice of naturo-

pathy and humanistic psychology inspires many clients to health.

Political activity by human service workers promotes a humane society.

Nevertheless, public and private agencies, on whom alternative human service agencies typically depend, have often found fault with the alternative rationale. Advocacy has been resented as contentious and indulgent. Hospitality to special clientele has been viewed as elitist. Paraprofessionals have been regarded as untrained, inexperienced, incompetent, nonconformist, and rivals of professionals. Participatory and egalitarian organizational aspirations have been seen as unreliable and inefficient. Low fees have been remarked as indulgent. Modest budgets and facilities have been remarked as deficient and substandard. Retention of confidences has been considered contentious. Non-judgmental approaches have been criticized as amoral. Drop-in and hotline treatment has been depreciated as unsubstantial. Naturopathy and humanistic psychology have been disparaged as fads and quackery. Political activism has been deemed inappropriate and, in certain cases, disreputable.

Kanter and Zurcher contend that "standard measures" of systemic performance will be obsolete in postindustrial society. They equate such measures with inquiries regarding: "How large does a system grow?" instead of "How small, intimate, and connected does a system manage to stay - and still do whatever it has to?"; "How much does a system produce?" instead of "Do relationships and tasks offer participation, involvement, excitement, and learning?"; "Does a system or relationship meet standards of reliability, predictability, stability, or control?" instead of "Do relationships and roles change in response to the needs

of the participants?"; "How efficiently are decisions made?" instead of "How widely is power shared? . . ." Yet they concede that "alternative institutional forms" are only "predictive of the sorts of alternatives which might . . . become functionally dominant in society" - not the determinants of current society.<sup>8</sup>

Jaffe describes seven areas in which the rationale of "traditional service" contends with the rationale of "alternative service": goals, values, and structures of authority, hierarchy, role, individuality, and resource use. Moreover, Jaffe insists, the dominant culture cannot be expected to encourage such differences:

. . . Society's basic mode of reaction to innovation is repression. The dominant culture has a wider range of means, and far greater power than its rival, to resolve the inter-group conflict in its own favor.

The most common form of repression is withdrawal of scarce resources . . . Building codes, drug laws, funding agencies, and money are all allocated according to the status and interests of the dominant culture . . .

There are more subtle and less painful pressures against the counter-community. Government-funded programs are pressured to delay change, to play along with the whims of funding sources, to take fewer risks, to modify basic tenets, to use respectable community citizens on their boards, and to use professionals as consultants with decision-making power. Similarly, within traditional institutions, people espousing or growing toward alternate values find themselves isolated, badgered, quieted down . . .

Such conflict, Jaffe concludes, frequently dissipates alternative experiments, either through cooption or fragmentation. In either case, founding visionaries typically experience the feeling that while "the ends they sought are still valid . . . the effect of the conflict with the dominant culture has been so debilitating to their ideal that the latter is no longer worthwhile maintaining."<sup>9</sup>



## TOWARDS A SOLUTION

To hear Kanter and Zurcher tell it, a solution to the above predicament is hardly pressing! The purpose of alternative institutions, they argue, is not to succeed "on the basis of dominant institutional criteria" but to generate "real action", which they define as trailblazing, even if ephemerally, the possible forms of a future society. If there are problems in this, they continue, they concern observers who insist on using "conventional standards" to evaluate new forms and participants who become anxious about the status of their experiments with respect to those standards.

Yet there might be those who agree with Mae West that the only good alternative is a live alternative. For these a solution to the above predicament becomes more urgent than Kanter and Zurcher suggest. . . .<sup>10</sup>

At this writing, a conservative Republican administration has scored its third major legislative victory. Under the circumstances it borders on the macabre to discuss burgeoning vistas for alternative human service. But perhaps the French might be interested!

The first step towards a solution to the alternative predicament is to recognize that, in the operative state, legitimate urban organizations rarely flower without at least the tolerance of the power structure. Although organizations, like citizens, enjoy certain legal guarantees, in practice they can be subjected to enervating harrassment, deprived of vital cooperation, excluded from reputable association, and denied necessary resources. Such political realities are currently not

so intense as to make legitimate alternative organization impossible but alternative organizations would be advised to pursue their careers with a healthy respect for them.

The second step is to recognize, as Jaffe does, that the alternative predicament exists. Too many alternative agencies begin with the rosy assumption that their obvious innocence, goodwill, good looks, and talent will charm the establishment. And initially they often do! But as Melville understood, the Claggarts are adept at biding their time and eventually exposing beginner's luck for the incongruity that it is. And after they have done so, none of the liberal captains is willing to save the youth who hails from the Rights of Man.<sup>11</sup> To avoid a similar fate, alternative agencies must anticipate entrenched opposition and plan an effective defense.

An effective defense, of course, entails an appropriate offense. One of the things that alternative agencies do well is readying services just as the power structure has begun to perceive the need for them. This function makes alternative agencies valuable to the power structure and, for that reason, should be fully cultivated. A specific component of an alternative agency should be assigned to research and development with the resources and authority to pioneer attractive innovation.

Inspired proposals are not sufficient, however, to insure patronage; there is always the possibility that a funding source will choose to expand the innovation elsewhere. That is why another specific component of an alternative agency should be assigned to external mediation - or what Clark & Jaffe humorously call "foreign policy".<sup>12</sup> It would be the authorized task of this component to realistically gauge the agency's

reputation and to plan and execute private meetings and public campaigns to enhance the agency's standing among key officials and the general public.

The extent to which the above realizations and precautions contradict countercultural or radical attitudes suggests the extent to which those attitudes need to be compromised by those more excited about the effects of alternative organization than the strict articulation of alternative ideology. It is instructive, in this regard, to review critiques of socialist strategy of the thirties by Bell and hip agitation of the sixties by Kon. "The socialist movement," argues Bell,

could not relate itself to the here-and-now, give-and-take political world. In sum: it was trapped by the unhappy problem of living in but not of the world; it could only act, and then inadequately, as the moral but not political, man in immoral society. It could never resolve, but only straddle, the basic issue of either accepting capitalist society and seeking to transform it from within, as the labor movement did, or becoming the sworn enemy of that society, like the Communists . . .

Kon's broadside against the hip vision is briefer: ". . . the hippies' attempts to lead a 'non-acquisitive' way of life in capitalist society," he simply states, "are doomed to failure".<sup>13</sup> Were these commentaries accurate, countercultural and radical partisans in the remaining alternative human service organizations would be advised for two reasons to perpetuate their organizations at the expense of their purity:

- 1) it is possible that alternative human service organizations structurally inspire a synthesis of theory and action that is ultimately more effective than ideological groups, 2) it is possible that unrevised ideological orientations conflict with the necessary perpetuation strategies of these organizations.

This is not to propose that partisan ideas have no place in alternative human service. It was partisan ideas, after all, that created, and will perhaps expand, the alternative rationale. And partisan allegiance in the community, even if minor, can often provide an alternative agency with a vital base of constituent support during crises or business-as-usual. But when presented with dilemmas involving choices between partisanship or perpetuation, alternative human service agencies may need to be ironic: they may have to tax their hearts to save their souls.

## ENDNOTES

### CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>PYA was an outgrowth of church community action in Portland during the 1960s, on which this section focuses. This focus should not minimize, however, the possible influence of innovative secular programs and organizations serving youth in the sixties such as Friendly House's Northwest Cooperative Youth Project (1966-77), School House, (1968-69), the Merchants of Warm (1968), the Seven of Diamonds (1968-70), and Together House (1968).

<sup>2</sup>Recent youth culture is characterized by stylized adaptation of non-white attitudes and artifacts. An early example is the adaptation of the Pachuco zoot suit in the early 1940s in the Southwest U.S.; the Pachucos originated in the region in the 1930s and came to adapt the style of hepcats on the East Coast. See Normal Mailer, "The White Negro," Dissent, 4 (1957), 278-79; David F. Gomez, Somos Chicanos (Boston: Beacon, 1973), p. xiv; and Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, The Chicanos (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), pp. 192-93.

A harbinger of the sixties "generation gap" is the record My Generation by The Who (Decca, 31877, 1965). For a study of the relationship of youth vanguards to youth as a whole in the American tradition, see Louis Filler, Vanguards and Followers (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1978).

<sup>3</sup>PYA, "Portland Youth Advocates Program Description," p. 1, in "PYA", a folder in the private files of Richard Thompson. It is likely that the previous youth programs of C-CAP, C-CAC, and Friendly House rather pioneered in the local understanding of at least some of these problems.

<sup>4</sup>"GPCC Newsletter," November 1964, in "OCC & GPCC Newsletters: 1959-72", a box in EMO files

<sup>5</sup>"GPCC Newsletter," September 1965, in EMO

<sup>6</sup>Morton Spence, "'Guy on the Street' for 'Operation Contact' Reaches Out to Often-Hostile Albina Youths," Oregonian, January 30, 1965, p. 5

<sup>7</sup>John C. Randlett, "Hub-CAP to Start Listening Ministry," Pilgrim, December 27, 1966, pp. 1-2, in the files of the First Congregational Church; "Charix," a pamphlet written in the summer of 1967, in "Charix," a looseleaf in the files of the First Unitarian Society

<sup>8</sup>C-CAC, Minutes, September 27, 1967 in "Church Community Action Commission," a folder in the private files of Herman Eschen. Charix appears to be an approximate adaptation of the Pauline sense of the Greek word χάρις, connoting divine grace. A Unitarian critic of the coffee house would later charge that the name was "of obscure origin . . . typical of the confusion of the program it identifies." In the context of GPCC's ecumenical agenda, such detraction seems inappropriate. See information about Charix for the congregation, March 21, 1969, in "Charix", in Unitarian

<sup>9</sup>Marvin D. Callaway, "Undercover Agent Declares Hippies Interested Only in Drugs," Oregonian, January 18, 1968, p. 33

<sup>10</sup>Hub-CAP, "A Progress Report: Hub-CAP and Portland's Youth Subcultures," p. 4 and Charix Committee minutes, January 23, 1968, in "Charix", in Unitarian

<sup>11</sup>Ann Sullivan, "A Look at Alienated Youth: Ministry Workers Clash with Police Bureau," Oregonian, March 19, 1969, p. 13

<sup>12</sup>Summer Youth Program, "Proposal for the Continuation of Ministry with Portland's Youth Counter Culture," p. 2, in "Church Community Action Commission", in Eschen

<sup>13</sup>Grace Ann Goodman, "The Greater Portland, Oregon, Council of Churches: 1958-71," p. 11 in "Church Community Action Commission", in Eschen

<sup>14</sup>YM Advisory Board, Minutes, May 14 and June 13, 1969 in "Youth Ministry Development," a folder in Eschen

<sup>15</sup>Peggy Blum, "Contacts Ltd.", Willamette Bridge, January 16, 1970, p. 7

<sup>16</sup>Program Description," p. 15, in Thompson

<sup>17</sup>CC's origins may be located at the commencement of its partitioned space (July) or the inauguration of its separate telephone number (August); because the latter involves an external representation, this study assumes the August date

<sup>18</sup>OCRI, "Memorandum of Action of Board of Directors of OCRI Foundation," in "OCRI Board Meetings," a folder in OCRI files

<sup>19</sup>Marilyn Kolton et al., Innovative Approaches to Youth Services (Madison: STASH Press, 1973), p. xi

## CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Gordon L. Lippitt, Organizational Renewal (New York: Appleton, 1968), p. 32

<sup>2</sup>Charles Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, 26 (1961), 856

<sup>3</sup>Amitai Etzioni, Studies in Social Change (New York: Holt, 1966), p. 10

<sup>4</sup>James D. Thompson and William McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal Setting as an Interaction Process," American Sociological Review, 23 (1958), 29

<sup>5</sup>Burton Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values: A Case Study," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), 336

<sup>6</sup>John E. Tsouderos, "Organizational Change in Terms of a Series of Selected Variables," American Sociological Review, 20 (1955), 207

<sup>7</sup>Aileen D. Ross, "The Social Control of Philanthropy," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1953), 460

<sup>8</sup>David L. Sills, The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 149-99

<sup>9</sup>Mayer Zald, Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), p. xiii; Allen Barton, "Organizations: Methods of Research," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed.

<sup>10</sup>Rosabeth Moss Kanter and Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., "Evaluating Alternatives and Alternative Valuing," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 9, Nos. 2-3 (1973), 394; Kolton et al.; Gordon P. Holleb and Walter H. Abrams, Alternatives in Community Mental Health (Boston: Beacon, 1975)

## CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Information about this study's respondents and interviews with them are contained in Sources. Unless otherwise identified, other proper names are those of other PYA members; their positions are listed in the appendix.

<sup>2</sup>OCRI, in OCRI

<sup>3</sup>Terry Jones, Memorandum to the board, June 14, 1972, in "Selected PYA Papers"; Don Cron, Memorandum to the board, fall 1973, in PYA

<sup>4</sup>PCCM, Annual staff report, March 12, 1971, p. 6, in "PCCM 1971-73", a looseleaf in PCCM files; Joe Dubay, Episcopal chaplain's quarterly report, March, 1971, in private files of Joe Dubay

<sup>5</sup>Doug Baker, "New Style 'Mod Squad'", Journal, August 3, 1971, p. 3

<sup>6</sup>Dubay, Letter to organizations, September 3, 1969, in "PCCM 9/68-8/70", a looseleaf in PCCM

<sup>7</sup>Anne Kolibaba, "Contact Center Offers Varied Programs," Equestrian, November 3, 1971, p. 1

<sup>8</sup>John Wendeborn, "Contact Center Provides Help for Youngsters on the Move," Oregonian, August 29, 1971, Forum Sec., p. 1; "Aid Center Needs Aid," Editorial, Oregonian, September 9, 1971, p. 38

<sup>9</sup>Donald I. McNamara, Memorandum to Terry D. Schrunk, January 12, 1970, and Elizabeth B. Mumford, Memorandum to Robert Steele, March 7, 1970, in "Charix", in Unitarian; William Sanderson, "Church Closes Charix, Teenage Coffee House, for Fear of 'Imminent' Police Raid," Oregonian, March 13, 1970, p. 18

<sup>10</sup>Norman F. Reiter, Memorandum to Donald I. McNamara, March 28, 1972, attached to Donald I. McNamara, Memorandum to Terry D. Schrunk, March 29, 1972, in "Summer '72 - Contact Center", a folder in box 0449-02-2, in the files of the city's Records Management Program

<sup>11</sup>Tom McCall, "Statement by the Governor," September 8, 1971, in Dubay

<sup>12</sup>Mary Tobkin, Memorandum to Terry D. Schrunk, June 7, 1971, in folder 0279-01-34-13, in Records Management

<sup>13</sup>Multnomah County Board of Commissioners, Resolution, August 19, 1971, in "Runaway Program 72A2.5", a folder in the files of Metro's Criminal Justice Department; Neil Goldschmidt, Statement, n.d., in "1973 Youth Diversion Services," a folder in box 0237-01-55, in Records Management

<sup>14</sup>Urban Studies Center, Portland State University, "Evaluation and Program Monitoring Program," August 1972, a pamphlet in Metro

<sup>15</sup>Steve Johnson and Ken Smith, Chinook Centrex (Portland: Chinook Centrex, 1972), p. 87; Valerie Brown, "Contact!", Prism, October 8, 1971, p. 8; Patty Mantia, "Contact Center Expanding Though Funds Still Scarce," Vanguard, August 5, 1971, p. 4



<sup>16</sup>Barry Siegel, "It's Not Easy to Knit Together the Loose Ends of Today's Youth," Oregonian, August 16, 1970, Forum Sec., p. 1; "CC Serves Metropolitan Youth," Rough Rider, November 19, 1971, p. 1

<sup>17</sup>PYA, "Application for Law Enforcement Action Grant," August 27, 1972, Attachment 1, p. 3 in "Runaway Program 72A2.5", in Metro

<sup>18</sup>Prism, October 8, 1971, p. 8

<sup>19</sup>Jones, in PYA

#### CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>PYA, "Youth Advocacy," a proposal to NIMH, in PYA

<sup>2</sup>Cron, Memorandum, in PYA; Cron, Letter to John Clark, April 26, 1974, in PYA

<sup>3</sup>Donnie Griffin, "Funds Shortage Pinching Contact Center," Oregonian, September 2, 1973, p. 33

<sup>4</sup>"Youth Project Gains Space," Journal, December 16, 1972, p. 2; and Bill Keller, "Contact Center Widens Youth Services," Oregonian, December 16, 1972, p. 29

<sup>5</sup>OLEC, "On-Site Project Visit Report," April 23, 1973, p. 2, in "Runaway Program 72A2.5", in Metro

<sup>6</sup>Judy McDermott, "Volunteers Provide Talent for Community Programs," Oregonian, November 26, 1972, Day Sec., p. 1; Dorothy Geroch, "Foster Kids on the Street," Oregon Times, April 1973, p. 12

<sup>7</sup>Oregonian, September 2, 1973, p. 33

<sup>8</sup>Robin and Christine Will, Letter to Linda Hogan, January 19, 1973, in PYA

<sup>9</sup>Ed Frankel, Letter to Margaret Hunt, May 18, 1973, in the files of Kell, Alterman, Runstein, and Thomas; Rich Straub, Memorandum to Ed Frankel, July 3, 1973, in "The Contact Center: Funding Problem," a folder for case #2009-1, in Kell

<sup>10</sup>Cron attributed the expiration of "a good relationship" with Central Precinct to Reiter's transfer to the Police Academy in April 1972. See Straub, in Kell

<sup>11</sup>Ted Maloney, "Youth Center Lacking Support from the City," Vanguard, February 12, 1975, Metropolis Sec., p. 8

<sup>12</sup>PYA, "Fact Sheet: Youth Service, Northwest Portland," April 1975, in the private files of Buzz Willits

<sup>13</sup>Oregonian, December 16, 1972, p. 29; Bill Bertin, Letter, Oregonian, May 6, 1975, p. 18

<sup>14</sup>PYA, "Portland Youth Advocates," a booklet printed in 1974, p. 11, in PYA

<sup>15</sup>OCRI, in OCRI

<sup>16</sup>PYA, "Portland Youth Advocates," pp. 2-3, in PYA; Oregonian, September 2, 1973, p. 33

<sup>17</sup>PYA, "Portland Youth Advocates", p. 10, in PYA

<sup>18</sup>Oregonian, September 2, 1973, p. 33; "Portland Youth Advocates", p. 11, in PYA

<sup>19</sup>Mollie Webb, "Contact Center May Fold," Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 3; and D. Horowitz, "Power in the City," Vanguard, April 25, 1975, p. 2

<sup>20</sup>Margaret Hunt, Letter to City Council, May 22, 1973, in PYA; CC, "Concept Paper - Resource & Counseling Center," p. 4, in PYA; Judy Phelan, Letter to Jerry Guthrie, October 14, 1974, in "The Contact Center: Funding Problem", in Kell

## CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Phelan, Letter to Guthrie, in Kell; HRB, Assistance preapplication to LEAA, June 1, 1976, p. 10, in the files of HRB's YSC office

<sup>2</sup>PYA, Application to MW-CETA PSE, June 1975, in "Portland Youth Advocates," a folder in "Agency Files Thru FY 79, Private Non-Profit," a file in the files of MW-CETA's Multnomah County PSE office

<sup>3</sup>PYA, Board minutes, April 9, 1976, in PYA

<sup>4</sup>HRB, Contract with PYA, November 7, 1975, in the files of the city auditor

<sup>5</sup>Larry Rice, Letter to Les Rucker, June 15, 1976, attached to CRAG, A95 Review, in the files of Harry's Mother

<sup>6</sup>EMO, Application to HEW, May 1976, in Harry's Mother

<sup>7</sup>MCMHD-AD, Grants Review Committee recommendations, December 10, 1975, pp. 6-7, in the files of MCMHD-AD

<sup>8</sup>PYA, Draft of application to HRB, fall 1975, in PYA

<sup>9</sup>PYA, Draft of application to HRB, in PYA

## CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup>PYA, Board minutes, September 20 and November 4, 1976, January 31 and February 23, 1977, in PYA

<sup>2</sup>Meier & Frank, Advertisement, Oregonian, October 18, 1976, p. 14; Charlotte Graydon, "Giving of Self Promotes Growth, He Says," Oregonian, October 11, 1976, p. B3; Mark Hatfield, Letter to Paul Kaufman, October 15, 1976, in the private files of Paul Kaufman

<sup>3</sup>Sue Hobart, "Life of Panhandler Unsparingly Rotten," Oregonian, October 25, 1976, p. 1; Diane Carman, "Contact Center Resorts to Fund Drive to Ease Plight," Journal, February 22, 1977, p. 7; "Contact Center Sets Fund Drive," Oregonian, February 28, 1977, p. C5; Denise Myers, "Aid Center Needs Help," Downtowner, February 28, 1977, p. 6; "Fund Raiser," Downtowner, February 28, 1977, p. 12; Dennis McCarthy, "Contact Center 'Broke'," Journal, March 3, 1977, p. 4; "Contact Center Begs Money to Stay Open," Journal, March 5, 1977, p. 5

<sup>4</sup>PYA, "Some History and a Request from Portland Youth Advocates," in PYA

<sup>5</sup>Oregonian, October 11, 1976, p. B3; Journal, February 22, 1977, p. 7; Downtowner, February 28, 1977, p. 12

<sup>6</sup>PYA, Board minutes, July 29, 1976, in PYA; Oregonian, February 28, 1977, p. 7

<sup>7</sup>PYA, Board minutes, September 20, 1976, January 31, 1977; Beryl Linn and Buzz Willits, "Position Paper Outline of Program Suggestions for Portland Youth Advocates," in PYA

<sup>8</sup>PYA, Evaluation of Self-Reliance, in Willits

## CHAPTER VII

<sup>1</sup>DeAnne Hamilton, "Grown-up Contact Center Offers Counseling Service on East Side," Oregonian, January 7, 1978, p. B1

<sup>2</sup>L. Patricia Van Gorp, Letter to Pauline Anderson, May 16, 1979, in PYA

<sup>3</sup>PYA Administration, Memorandum to coordinators, July 1978, in PYA

<sup>4</sup>Sandy Taylor, Agency profile, in "271-8-M-93", in "Terminated Special Project Files", in MW-CETA

<sup>5</sup>PYA, Coordinators minutes, May 11, 1978, in PYA

<sup>6</sup>Howard Schecter, "Analysis of a Primary Group," December 1980, pp. 2-13, in the private files of Howard Schecter

<sup>7</sup>Oregonian, January 7, 1978, p. B1; "Hotline Offers Training Class," Oregonian, August 25, 1978, p. C3

<sup>8</sup>Taylor, Agency profile, in MW-CETA

<sup>9</sup>CC, "Contact Center Goals and Objectives: June 1978-November 1978," in PYA

<sup>10</sup>See Ron Milstein, Letter to community mental health agencies, December 13, 1977, in MCMHD files; Robert Olmos, "Original Free Clinic Shifts with Times, Fills Many Needs," Oregonian, December 6, 1975, p. 22

<sup>11</sup>Taylor, "Project closeout report" for project 093-7-M-46, September 20, 1978, in "Terminated Special Project Files," in MW-CETA

<sup>12</sup>PYA, Coordinators minutes, May 4, 11, 1978, in PYA

## CHAPTER VIII

<sup>1</sup>Michael Lerner, "Anarchism and the Counter-Culture," in Anarchism Today, ed. David E. Apter and James Joll (Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), p. 37; Burton H. Wolfe, The Hippies (New York: New American Library, 1968), p. 23; "Hippies," Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropaedia, 1975 ed.; John Barron Mays, "Youth, Social Aspects of," Encyclopedia Britannica: Macropaedia, 1975 ed.; Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. xii; Jerry L. Simmons and Barry Winograd, It's Happening: A Portrait of the Youth Scene Today (Santa Barbara: Marc-Laird Publications, 1966), p. 12

<sup>2</sup>Dubay, Quarterly report, p. 4, in Dubay; Consultative Team, "Self Study and Visit of Consultative Team," p. 2, in Dubay

<sup>3</sup>Dubay, Quarterly report, p. 1, in Dubay; Ch. III; E. Smith, "Tri-County Community Council Report on Portland Youth Advocates, Rough Draft," p. 7, in "Portland Youth Advocates," a folder in TCC files; Personal interview with Pauline Anderson, October 17, 1980

<sup>4</sup>PYA, "Program Description," pp. 6, 17, in Thompson; Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 7; Ch. VII

<sup>5</sup>PYA, "Program Description," p. 5, in Thompson; Ch. III; Ch. IV; PYA, "Youth Advocacy," p. 10, in PYA; Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 7; Ch. VI; Ch. V; Van Gorp

<sup>6</sup>PYA, "Program Description," p. 16, in Thompson; Ch. VI; PYA Staff, Memorandum to board, December 16, 1974, in PYA

<sup>7</sup>Ch. III; Ch. IV; PYA, "Short Form Personnel Policy," August 4, 1978, p. 2, in contract 17514, a folder in city auditor

<sup>8</sup>Ch. VII; CC, "Comments from a Brainstorming Session," January 1979, p. 2, in PYA; Van Gorp

<sup>9</sup>Jim Pullman, Site visit report, November 6, 1979, in "Out Front House," a folder in the files of CSD's Region I Group Care Unit; Oregonian, August 16, 1970, Forum Sec., p. 1; Pat McNassar, Letter, Willamette Bridge, January 23, 1970, p. 2; PYA, "Program Description," p. 5, in Thompson

<sup>10</sup>PYA Administration, Memorandum to coordinators, in PYA; PYA Staff, Memorandum to board, in PYA; Ch. V; Pullman, Site reports, January 19, 1979, November 6, 1979, in CSD

<sup>11</sup>Alfred Keh, Sheila Kamerman, and Brenda McGowan, Child Advocacy (New York: Columbia University School of Social Work, 1972), pp. 20-22

<sup>12</sup>Catherine P. Pepell, "Youth Service Agencies," Encyclopedia of Social Work, 1977 ed.; Youth Advocates, From Huckleberry's for Runaways to Youth Advocates (San Francisco: Youth Advocates, 1974), pp. 12-13

<sup>13</sup>Ch. III; PYA, "Youth Advocacy," p. 10, in PYA

<sup>14</sup>Ch. V; Ch. III; Ch. VII; Anderson

<sup>15</sup>PYA Administration, Memorandum, in PYA; Personal interview with Joe Parker, October 13, 1980

<sup>16</sup>Frederick Perls, Ralph Hefferline, and Paul Goodman, Gestalt Therapy (New York: Julian, 1951); Mary Henle, "Gestalt Psychology," International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, and Neurology, 1977 ed. Henle denies the connection between Gestalt psychology and Gestalt therapy asserted by Perls et al.

<sup>17</sup>Charles B. Truax and Robert R. Carkhuff, Towards Effective Counseling and Psychotherapy: Training and Practice (Chicago: Aldine, 19670, pp. 235-39; Ch. VII

## CHAPTER IX

<sup>1</sup>Ch. III; Ch. V

<sup>2</sup>Ch. VII

<sup>3</sup>Ch. IV

<sup>4</sup>Ch. VII

<sup>5</sup>Ch. III; Phelan, Letter to Jerry Guthrie, October 28, 1974, in Kell; Ch. VI

<sup>6</sup>Ch. V; Ch. VI; Ch. VII

<sup>7</sup>Ch. III; Ch. VI; CC, "Goals," in PYA; Personal interview with Howard Schecter, October 2, 1980

<sup>8</sup>OCRI, Memorandum, in OCRI; Ch. VII; Anderson; Ch. VII; CC, "Goals," in PYA; CC, "Proposal to Provide Outpatient Mental Health Services in Southeast Portland," in PYA; Ch. VII; Ch. VI

<sup>9</sup>McCall, in Dubay; Ch. III; Smith, p. 9, in TCC; Ch. III; Ch. IV

<sup>10</sup>Ch. V; Ch. VII; Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 7; Vanguard, April 25, 1975, p. 2; Ch. VII

<sup>11</sup>Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 3; Ch. V; Ch. VI; Carolyn Tamei, Annual evaluation, September 28, 1978, pp. 6, 17 in "Out Front House," in CSD

<sup>12</sup>Ch. III; E. McArthur, Site visit report, May 22, 1974, in "Out Front House," in CSD; Vanguard, February 21, 1975, Metropolis Sec., p. 8; Tamei, p. 16, in CSD; Pullman, Site report, November 6, 1979, in CSD

<sup>13</sup>McNamara, Memorandum to Schrunk, January 12, 1970, in Unitarian; Ch. III; Ch. IV; Ch. V

<sup>14</sup>Scribe, April 19, 1975, p. 7; Vanguard, April 25, 1975, p. 2; Ch. V; EMO, Application, in Harry's; Ch. VII

<sup>15</sup>Parker

<sup>16</sup>Schecter, Letter to CC's friends, June 20, 1979, in PYA

## CHAPTER X

<sup>1</sup>Wolfe; Sherri Cavan, Hippies of the Haight (St. Louis: New Critics Press, 1972); Lewis Yablonsky, The Hippie Trip (New York: Pegasus, 1968); Edward M. Brecher, Licit and Illicit Drugs (Boston: Little Brown, 1972), pp. 499-506; David E. Smith and John Luce, Love Needs Care (Boston: Little Brown, 1971); Larry Beggs, Huckleberry's for Runaways (New York: Ballantine, 1969); Youth Advocates

<sup>2</sup>The Free Clinic: A Community Approach to Health Care and Drug Abuse, ed. David E. Smith, David J. Bentel, and Jerome L. Schwartz (Beloit, WI.: STASH Press, 1971); Kolton et al.; Raymond M. Glasscote et al., The Alternate Services: Their Role in Mental Health (Washington: Joint Information Service, 1975); Holleb and Abrams; Ted Clark and Dennis Jaffe, Toward a Radical Therapy: Alternate Services for Personal and Social Change (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973); Liz Goldsmith and Jeff Unsicker, "What Makes an Alternative Service Alternative?", C/O, April 1976, pp. 5-9; Goldsmith and Unsicker, "More on Alternatives," C/O, July 1976, pp. 8-11; Michael Horowitz, "Alternative Community Mental Health Agencies (1965-80): Out and In the Garbage Pail", Pacific Sociological Association Meeting, Portland, Or., March 19, 1981

<sup>3</sup>Kanter and Zurcher; Dennis Jaffe, "Transition People and Alternate Services," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 9, Nos. 2-3 (1973), 199-217; Michael Glenn, "Crisis in Counter Culture Institutions," Rough Times, April 1972, p. 13

<sup>4</sup>Barbara Rosen, as quoted in Goldsmith and Unsicker, "More," p. 8; Cary Cherniss, Staff Burnout: Job Stress in the Human Services (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980); Herbert J. Freudenberger, "The Staff Burnout Syndrome in Alternative Institutions," Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice, 12, No. 1 (1975), 73-82

<sup>5</sup>But perhaps not always. According to a later coordinator, the Los Angeles Free Clinic was initially intended as a swindle. See Smith, Bentel, and Schwartz, p. 16

<sup>6</sup>For the link between the radical therapy movement and alternative human service, see Going Crazy: The Radical Therapy of R.D. Laing and Others, ed. Hendrik R. Ruitenbeek (New York: Bantam, 1972). Laing published his initial manifesto in 1968.

<sup>7</sup>For a conception of humanistic psychology, see John B.P. Shaffer, Humanistic Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1978), pp. 1-18

<sup>8</sup>Kanter and Zurcher, p. 396

<sup>9</sup>Jaffe, pp. 214, 216

<sup>10</sup>Kanter and Zurcher, pp. 387, 395. Two of West's aphorisms are "A man in the house is worth two on the street any day" and "It's not the men in your life but the life in your men"; see Way Out West, Tower, ST5028, 1966

<sup>11</sup>Herman Melville, Billy Budd

<sup>12</sup>Clark and Jaffe, p. 249

<sup>13</sup>Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 268; I.S. Kon, "Youth," in Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Third Ed., 1977, XVI, 687



## SOURCES

### SOURCE ESSAY

The following essay surveys those regional records and respondents consulted for the study's periodic summaries.

#### December 1963-August 1970

References to the Charix, Outside-In, Northwest Cooperative Youth Project, School House, and the Seven of Diamonds appear under their own names in the Library Association of Portland Newspaper Index; references to the church coffee house movement and CAP programs appear under Portland Churches; references to YM appear under Gene Horn and in an article on alienated youth under Portland Youth; references to narcotics raids appear under Narcotics; a reference to the Catacombs appears under the First Congregational Church; a reference to Rivendell appears in the initial article about School House; references to the Ninth Street Exit and Together House appear in articles about the Centenary-Wilbur Methodist Church. For the Merchants of Warm, see James Long, "'Merchants of Warm' Cool to New City Ordinance," Journal, July 12, 1968, p. 6.

"OCC & GPCC Newsletters: 1958-72" contain a complete set of newsletters highlighting key developments of GPCC programs. Herman Eschen was C-CAC chairman from its inception to 1969. Two folders in his private files are rich sources. "Church Community Action Commission"

includes a series of C-CAC minutes and program descriptions, C-CAP and East-CAP reports and releases, GPCC memos to C-CAC, YM proposals, clippings from the Oregonian, and Grace Goodman's flawed history of GPCC in the sixties. "Youth Ministry Development Committee" includes a series of YM Development Committee and Advisory Board minutes, YM reports, Hub-CAP reports on its Terwilliger youth projects, an issue of the Carp Valley Teen Center newsletter, and minutes and proposals of the C-YM board.

The weekly newsletter of the First Congregational Church is the Pilgrim. From June 1965-May 1967, it includes weekly and monthly schedules of the Catacombs and articles about the facility by Royald Caldwell, Quinn Hawley, and John Randlett. There are two articles in the winter of 1967 about Hub-CAP's Listening Ministry. The church's annual reports for 1966 and 1967 include summaries by the Young Adult Committee that review the Catacombs. The First Unitarian Society's looseleaf, "Charix," includes minutes and announcements of the Charix Planning Committee, Hub-CAP reports and newsletters, evaluations by the First Unitarian Society, Charix posters, and clippings from the Oregonian and Journal.

Joe Dubay was C-YM's interim co-director and PYA's through September 1970. His private files contain PCCM minutes regarding that organization's relationship to C-YM in the summer and fall of 1969. The collection "Selected PYA Papers" includes memos of PYA and the Contact task force in the winter of 1970. PCCM files contain a looseleaf called "PCCM 9/68-8/70" that includes a PYA proposal, budget, and review of its summer 1970 programs. The Willamette Bridge was a Portland alternative

weekly from 1968-71; issues from 1970 contain early coverage of PYA and listings of Contact and CC. Pat McNassar, Kathy Newbill, Jim Gardner, Cal Scott, and Margaret Hunt were YM, C-YM, and Contact task force and program directors and are sources of anecdotal material.

August 1970-October 1972

For all periods, all known articles pertaining to CC and most pertaining to PYA are cited in Sources. During this period, articles and an editorial appeared in the daily press (Oregonian, Journal), the school press (Vanguard, Rough Rider, Equestrian) and the alternative press (Prism).

The collection "Selected PYA Papers" includes key papers from discarded PYA files. Papers from this period include board memos and letters, staff memos and letters, pamphlets, announcements, proposed budgets, lists of credits and debits, and a list of board members. Current PYA files contain financial and payroll ledgers.

Richard Thompson's private files contain a folder called "PYA" that includes a PYA program description and staff letter. Joe Dubay's private files contain PCCM board minutes, chaplain reports, a staff study, and Tom McCall's statement regarding PYA.

The looseleaf "PCCM 9/68-8/70" includes a PYA summer plan, fundraising letter, and summer review. The looseleaf "PCCM 1971-1973" includes PCCM board minutes, staff minutes, staff reports, committee reports, and a PYA program description. The files of Metro's Criminal Justice Department contain two folders called "Runaway Program 72A2.5" and a pamphlet entitled "Evaluation and Program Monitoring Program."

"Runaway Program" includes the Runaway Program's reapplication to CRAG and reveals some of PYA's orientation. "Evaluation" is an examination of several local programs by PSU's Urban Studies Center, including the Runaway Program, and gives a systematic appraisal of this PYA program. OCRI files contain PYA's funding proposal and OCRI's Memorandum of Action regarding that funding. TCC files contain a folder, "Portland Youth Advocates," that includes a report on PYA as well as PYA's articles of incorporation and by-laws; an analysis of Summer '71 is included in a folder called "Summer '71 - Mayor's Youth Commission." PB reports about Charix are contained in "Charix," a looseleaf in the files of the First Unitarian Society. The directory, Chinook Centrex, includes brief references to PYA services.

The files of the city's Records Management Program contain several folders on Terry Schunk's and PMSC's summer youth programs and PYA's participation in them. See folders 0279-01-34-12 through 16; 0449-02-1-"Summer 70"; and 0449-02-2-"Summer 72-Contact Center". Neil Goldschmidt's statement appears in 0237-01-55-"1973 Youth Diversion Services."

PMSC financial records were unavailable making it difficult to confirm PYA ledgers and correspondence regarding PMSC funding.

In addition to being PCCM's Episcopal chaplain, Joe Dubay was codirector of C-YM and PYA from the summer of 1969 through the summer of 1970 and director in the fall. He is currently a counselor. His recollections were vivid and balanced. Lee Meier was an Agora cook in the spring of 1970, a streetworker that summer, CC director that fall, assistant PYA director from January-June 1971, and director that summer. Although his memory was sometimes cloudy, he was an expressive and

honest respondent whose nostalgia for the period was confessed at the outset. Richard Thompson has been a MCJC counselor since 1958 and was the court's liaison to YM and PYA from 1968-73. Although he sometimes confused YM and PYA, his recollections were balanced and judicious.

October 1972-June 1975

During this period articles and letters appeared in the daily press, the school press, the alternative press (Scribe), the weekly press (Willamette Week, the Southwest Edition of the Valley Times), and the monthly press (Oregon Times).

The collection "Selected PYA Papers" includes letters, statements, memos, concept papers, reports, statistics, board minutes, proposals, and the 1974 booklet. Also included are letters from NIMH, the Oregon Arts Commission, KINK-FM, and local agencies, as well as an HRB pamphlet and an excerpt from a PSO Task Force report. Discarded PYA files contained a proposal to Hub-CAP.

The files of the U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services Region X's Human Development Services Office contain grant award looseleafs; PSO's application for project 74-P-50203/0-02 is contained in the files of the Youth Development Bureau. Metro's folders, "Runaway Program 72A2.5", include an OLEC report. Richard Thompson's folder, "PYA," includes a PYA letter. The files of HRB's Youth Service Center Office contain the City-County Justice Office's application for project 86-P-80071/0-01. The files of the Records Management Program contain folders on Summer '73 and youth service planning; see folders 0903-42-44-13 and 0237-01-55-"1973 Youth Diversion Services." An evaluation of Summer '73

was unavailable making it difficult to confirm PYA ledgers regarding that funding. An evaluation of Summer '74 is included in the folder "City of Portland, Summer Youth Program, Title XX" in the files of United Way, Columbia-Willamette. Confirmation of PYA's MW-CETA position in 1974 is found in box 80-109-9-27 in the files of Multnomah County's Records center. PYA's P-CETA contracts are available at the city auditor's office.

The files of Kell, Alterman, Runstein, and Thomas contain a folder for case 2009-1 called "The Contact Center: Funding Problem" that includes letters from PYA, HRB, and Charles Williamson, as well as HRB memos and an excerpt from PSO's application for project 73-P-50203/0-01. OCRI files contain OCRI board minutes. The private files of Buzz Willits contain PYA fact sheets and a YSD budget.

John Clark served on the PYA board from February 1973 through September 1976, chairing the group from April 1974. He is currently Vice President of Loan Administration at the Oregon Bank. His recollections were hazy but balanced. Cam Groner was a CC volunteer hotline worker from November 1973, a volunteer counselor from January 1974, and program coordinator from January-July 1975. He recently resigned as PSE director of MW-CETA. He was a reliable and fair respondent. Ed Crawford is now retired but was a former minister and director of Friendly House from 1965-75; Friendly House has been a private social service agency in the Northwest since 1930. Some of Friendly House's programs were similar to CC but competitive feelings were infrequent. Crawford's recollections were cloudy but balanced.

July 1975-June 1976

Press coverage during the period was limited to an article and a photograph in the Oregonian.

"Selected PYA Papers" includes board minutes and a draft of a reapplication to HRB. Contracts between PYA and the city are contained in the files of the city auditor. Data regarding MW-CETA PSE positions held by PYA workers is contained in the folder "Portland Youth Advocates", in the file "Agency Files Thru FY 79, Private Non-Profit" and in the following other files of MW-CETA's Multnomah County PSE Office: "Terminated Participants" and "Terminated Participants (before FY 77)". Data regarding MW-CETA Adult Manpower positions held by PYA workers is in box 8-109-9-18 in the files of Multnomah County's Records center.

HRB's preapplication to LEAA is contained in the files of its YSC office. PYA's application to MCMHD-AD is contained in the files of Mainstream. MCMHD-AD files contain the recommendations of its Grants Review Committee. EMO's application to HEW and CRAG letters and a review are contained in the files of Harry's Mother.

Dwayne McNannay was YSD's YSC Coordinator from February 1975-June 1976. He is currently assistant director of MCJC. His recollections were hazy. Paul Kaufman was a CC volunteer hotline worker from the winter of 1975 and a volunteer counselor from the fall of that year. He is currently a pressman. He was an enthusiastic but fair respondent. Ed Carney was lieutenant of PB's Juvenile Division from 1954. He is currently director of the Portland Police Beneficiary Association.

Although he confused PYA with YM, his recollection of issues was ample and fair. Haven Baxter was YSD Police Officer from January 1975-June 1976 and is currently an officer in PB's Juvenile Division. His impressions of PYA were often detailed but generally negative.

July 1976-November 1977

During this period articles, an advertisement, and a calender item appeared in the daily press and the weekly press (Downtowner).

"Selected PYA Papers" includes board minutes and a position proposal, an annual staff report, a funding request, a Summer 76 proposal, a poster, and ledger outlines. The private files of Paul Kaufman contain a letter from Senator Mark Hatfield. TCC files contain a folder, "Contact Center 1978," that includes a letter to MCMHD-AD. The private files of Buzz Willits contain a PYA staff evaluation of Self-Reliance.

The MW-CETA folder, "Portland Youth Advocates," includes "Portland Youth Advocates," a programmatic leaflet issued in March 1977, a ledger outline, job number lists, and a project application, goal statement, and summary. Data regarding C-CETA positions held by PYA workers is contained in C-CETA files.

Sharon Mainzer was a PYA administrator from March-September 1976 and executive director from that date. She is currently a community relations specialist at Tri-Met. Her recollections were clear and frank. Barbara (Friedman) Young was a volunteer hotline worker from February-November 1976, a PYA administrator from November 1976-May 1977; and a CC counselor and executive from February 1977. She is currently a



counselor in private practice. She was an honest respondent with a favorable assessment of the competence of her colleagues at CC. John Mason has been Volunteer Services Director at William Temple House since 1971. His recollections were limited and positive.

November 1977-September 1979

Articles appeared during this period in the daily press.

"Selected PYA Papers" includes board minutes, coordinators' minutes, ledgers, a CC letter, statement, bulletin, proposals, and retreat agenda and comments, an Open Meadow letter, an Odd Fellows lease, CETA applications, cost sheets, and mileage logs, Ann Tompkins' contract, program, reading list, and participants list, a CRAG application, and a Metropolitan Youth Commission conference program.

The Odd Fellows' Friendship Healch Center files contain a folder, "Contact Center," that includes an interoffice memo, a bill, and letters to and from PYA. TCC's files contain a folder, "Contact Center 1978", that includes memos, letters to and from CC, and MCMHD-MED specifications. Mainstream files contain CC's application to MCMHD-AD. The files of the Oregon Coalition of Alternative Human Services and the Portland Committee on Responsive Philanthropy contain the minutes of their respective organizations. The private files of Howard Schecter contain his paper on CC staff interaction.

MW-CETA files contain a file, "Terminated Special Projects", that contains folders on special projects 093-7-M-46 and 271-8-M-93; these folders include an agency profile and project summaries and reports. MCMHD files contain a letter to community mental health

agencies.

Pauline Anderson has been chairperson of PYA's board of directors since September 1976. She was a candid respondent. Howard Schecter was a CC volunteer hotline worker from September 1977, halftime training coordinator from November 1977, and program coordinator from September 1978. He is currently a psychology student and student instructor at PSU. He was an enthusiastic but fair respondent. Joe Parker has been co-director of the MCIS consortium since October 1978. The consortium and CC were competitors for MCMHD-MED funds in 1977-78. Parker's impressions of PYA were detailed and largely negative.

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- Carney, Ed. April 22.
- Clark, John. April 3.
- Crawford, Ed. March 31.
- Dubay, Joe. March 3.
- Groner, Cam. March 25.
- Kaufman, Paul. April 29.
- Mainzer, Sharon. May 16.

Mason, John. September 26.

McNannay, Dwayne. March 20.

Meier, Lee. February 19.

Parker, Joe. October 13.

Schechter, Howard. October 2.

Thompson, Richard. March 17.

Young, Barbara. September 19.

## APPENDIX

### CITED PYA MEMBERS

#### FIRST PERIOD

Valerie Brown	PYA staff member
Cindy Buhl	CC director
Don Cron	Runaway Program staff member, CC director, PYA associate director
Johnny Dicile	Streetwork staff member
Joe Dubay	PYA co-director, PYA director
Jim Gardner	PYA co-director
Jerry Guthrie	CC volunteer, PYA board member
Margaret Hunt	Contact staff member, Runaway Program director, PYA director
Terry Jones	Runaway Program director, PYA associate director
Terry Kent	PYA director
Sue McCroskey	Streetwork staff member
Pat McNassar	Served as Contact task force director from January-April 1970
Lee Meier	Streetwork staff member, CC director, assistant PYA director, PYA director
Cal Scott	Contact director
Jean Van Deusen	PYA board member
Stuart Zisman	Streetwork staff member

#### SECOND PERIOD

Bill Allured	CC staff member
Pauline Anderson	PYA board member
Author	PYA staff member
Joe Bernard	CC staff member
Valerie Brown	PYA staff member
Eileen Burns	CC volunteer
John Clark	PYA board member, PYA chairperson
Don Cron	PYA associate director, PYA director



Cam Groner	CC volunteer, CC coordinator
Jerry Guthrie	PYA board member, PYA director
Linda Guthrie	Arbuckle Flat director, PYA staff member
Marge Hanson	CC volunteer
Suzanne Hoff	Runaway Program staff member, CC staff member
Mike Holmes	Runaway Program staff member, CC director
Margaret Hunt	Runaway Program director
Terry Jones	Runaway Program director, PYA associate director
Shiza Lisbakken	CC volunteer
John Priollaud	CC volunteer
Sharon Rogers	CC volunteer
Tom Talbot	CC volunteer
Christine Will	Group Home co-director
Robin Will	Group Home co-director, CC director
Buzz Willits	PYA board member

## THIRD PERIOD

Bill Allured	CC staff member
Scott Bailey	CC staff member
Christy Bauman	CC staff member
Cam Groner	CC coordinator, Open Meadow coordinator
Jerry Guthrie	PYA director
Paul Kaufman	CC volunteer
Sharon Mainzer	PYA staff member
Chip Mayhue	PYA director
Sol Shapiro	CC coordinator
Karla Zamiska	CC staff member

## FOURTH PERIOD

Pauline Anderson	PYA board chairperson
Scott Bailey	CC staff member
Maya Brand	CC volunteer
David Dowell	Self-Reliance coordinator
Stan Geiger	PYA board member
Les Goldmann	CC staff member
Tom Hogan	PYA board member
Harvey Horne	CC volunteer
Paul Kaufman	CC staff member
Donna Liberman	CC volunteer
Beryl Linn	PYA board member

Sharon Mainzer	PYA staff member, PYA director
Suzanne Maxson	PYA staff member
Buzz Willits	PYA board member
Barbara (Friedman) Young	CC volunteer, PYA staff member, CC staff member

## FIFTH PERIOD

Pauline Anderson	PYA board chairperson
Scott Bailey	CC coordinator, Mainstream coordinator, CC volunteer
Herb Biskar	CC volunteer
Jerry Blake	PYA board member
Greg Garland	CC staff member
Harvey Horne	CC volunteer
Sharon Mainzer	PYA director
Shannon Perneti	CC volunteer
Maddy Porter	CC staff member
Susan Salkield	CC staff member
Howard Schecter	CC volunteer, CC staff member, CC coordinator
Barbara (Friedman) Young	CC staff member